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Surajmal's QUALITY DIAMONDS

359, KALBADEVI
 ROAD BOMBAY.

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Amritsar And Lahore Quiet

Large-scale Evacuation Of Refugees

LAHORE, August 19, (A.P.I.): The Lahore Corporation area was free from any communal incident on Tuesday it was authoritatively learnt tonight. Four stabbing cases, two of which proved fatal were however reported from Moghulpura Area.

Over 70,000 refugees have so far arrived in Lahore from East Punjab, the Associated Press of India was officially informed tonight. There was a sprinkling of non-Muslims in batches of refugees which arrived in Lahore today.

For the first time after many months Amritsar was quiet today, according to reports received here. No incident of any kind was reported from Amritsar town and Lahore today.

The communique adds: In Jullundur and Hoshiarpur cities there has been deterioration. In Sialkot and Gujranwala there were a few cases which were soon controlled.

In the rural areas of Amritsar district, arson and loss of life still continue, but it is lessening. In the rural areas of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur arson and loss of life are on the increase.

Railway services from North India to and from Delhi and beyond have restarted.

About seventy thousand Muslim refugees have so far arrived in Lahore from Amritsar district.

The evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs continues from Lahore. It is estimated that at least seventy-five per cent of the Hindus and Sikhs have left Lahore during the past four months. According to one report, not more than ten thousand Hindus and Sikhs have been left in Lahore out of a population of over three lakhs.

Police Firing In Hyderabad

HYDERABAD (Dn.), August 19, (A.P.I.): Two persons were killed in the communal disturbances in Secunderabad today, bringing total number of killed to ten. The police had opened fire on one occasion to control the situation.

Lady Mountbatten's 'Hospital Day' In City



All-Out Crusade For Peace In Punjab Two Dominions Declare War On Anti-Social Elements

NEW DELHI, August 19, (A.P.I.): The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a broadcast tonight referred to the situation in the Punjab and the decisions taken at the Ambala Conference and said, "in both Amritsar and Lahore, we heard a ghastly tale and we saw thousands of refugees, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh."

"There were some fires still burning in the city, and reports of recent outrages reached us. We were all unanimously of opinion that we must deal firmly with the situation as we found it and not enter into acrimonious debate about the past, and that the situation demanded that crime must be put an end to immediately at whatever cost."

"All of us who were present, whether of the various communities," said Pandit Nehru, "pledged ourselves to our utmost to put an end to this or whether we were leading members."

Cripps Cancels Burma Visit

Police Swoop On Guerrilla Forces; Mass Arrests

LONDON, Aug. 20 (Reuters): Pressure of public business has forced to cancellation of the forthcoming visit to Burma planned by Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and Lady Cripps, it was officially announced to-night.

The Government of Burma have now invited Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for Burma, to visit the country in Sir Stafford's place. Lord Listowel will leave for Rangoon at the end of August, accompanied by Sir Gilbert Laithwaite of the Burma Office.

MRS. AUNG SAN FOR BURMA CABINET

RANGOON, Aug. 19 (Reuters): Mrs. Aung San (Daw Khin Kyi) widow of General Aung San, may join the present Cabinet as Minister for Public Health, Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League (Government majority party) sources indicated today.

SWOOP ON GUERRILLA FORCES

RANGOON, Aug. 19 (Reuters): Mr. Justice U Kyaw Myint, brother of the Burmese Finance Minister U Tin Tut, whose house was attacked by gunmen last night, to-day denied Burmese Press reports that he had been appointed Chairman of the Special Tribunal to try U Saw and others on charges connected with the assassination of U Aung San and other Government leaders last month.

"I have no information about such an appointment," said U Kyaw Myint, who is a Judge of Rangoon High Court.

Burmese police and military authorities last night rounded up more than 200 members of "the Patriotic Burmese Forces"—the wartime Anti-Japanese Resistance Army headed by the late Burmese leader, U Aung San. The arrests followed surprise raids on eight centres used by ex-servicemen in the city.

Burmese newspapers reported similar (Continued On Page 5)

Britain's Dollar Crisis

WASHINGTON, August 19, (A. P. A.): Britain at present engaged in dollar crisis discussion in Washington increased her buying from the United States by five per cent to a total of nearly 100,000 dollars.

This was disclosed by the census bureau as the Anglo-American conference continued on the question of easing terms of the American Loan Agreement.

It was reported that Britain would most likely get revisions permitting her to increase purchases from the British Dominions at the expense of trade with the United States.

The 1946 British loan agreement prohibits Britain from "discriminating" against United States goods, unless a better price or quality can be obtained in the same items elsewhere.

Br. Govt. Bonds Break

LONDON, August 19, (A. P. A.): British Government bonds broke as much as a point (one pound) today on the London Stock Exchange and brokers attributed the weakness to concern over the Government's dollar position.

Gold shares still claimed principal attention. Prices slipped slightly under profit taking early in the session, but at the finish the losses had been recovered and most prices were on the up side for the day.

IF BRITAIN FREEZES STERLING

LONDON, Aug. 19 (I.P.A.): Whatever easement Washington concedes to Britain regarding discriminatory imports, it is certain that Pound can not stay convertible. If Britain now ever freezes Sterling it is that the possible recent Indo-British agreement ever freezes Sterling it is possible that the recent Indo-British agreement for not freezing 35 million Pounds till the year's end will not operate.

NO NEWSPAPERS IN PUNJAB

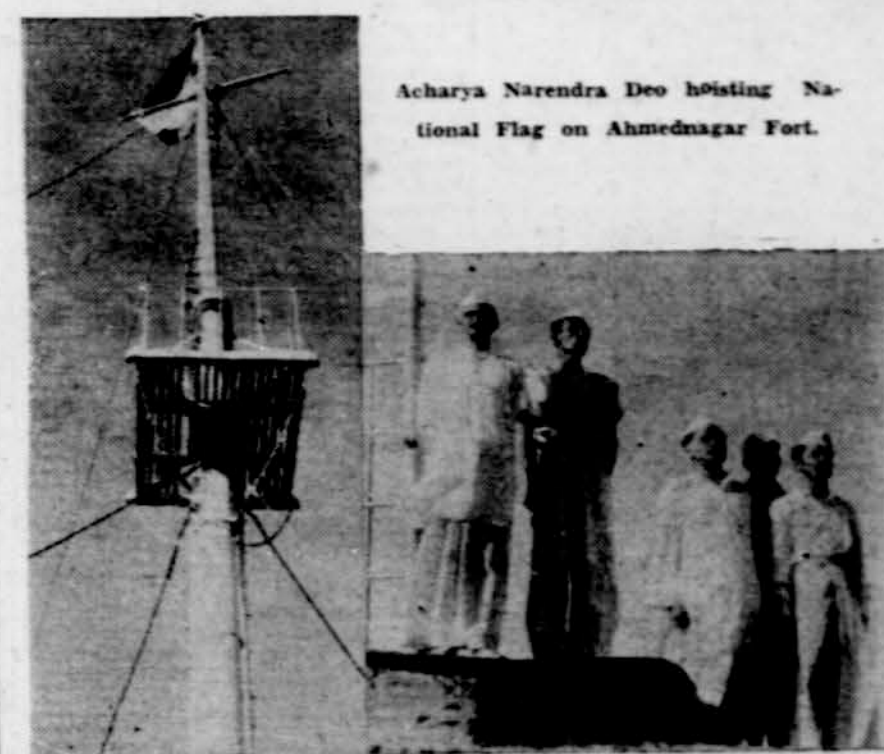
NEW DELHI, August 19, (U.P.I.): Horrible stories of mob-violence and arson continue to reach New Delhi through refugees—with Lahore cut off from all communication with the outside world. Goonda elements dominate the city and from arson they have now turned to daylight robbery. With business premises and private houses evacuated, they are harrying themselves with the goods the owner had been compelled to leave behind. The condition in hospitals is no more tragic than can be imagined. The dead and the injured are being piled up into a peculiar inter-mixture of life and death. All newspapers and news-agencies with the exception of the Associated Press of India have ceased functioning.

LATEST COMMERCIAL

NEW YORK COTTON OCTOBER.
 NEW YORK, AUGUST 19.
 Previous Closing 32.41
 Today's Opening 32.37
 Difference -4
 Today's Closing 32.84
 Difference +43

LATEST QUOTATIONS.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 19.
 Ra. 24.
 Cotton Sept. 491 4
 Silver Shrovan 173 10
 Gold Forward 109 13
 Silver Tukda 2nd Shrovan, 173 4
 Sovereign 73 8



Acharya Narendra Deo hoisting National Flag on Ahmednagar Fort.

Cadiz Wrecked By Explosion

Hospitals Packed With Casualties; 500 Killed And 5,000 Injured

MADRID, August 18, (Reuters): A violent explosion occurred in the Cadiz shipyards tonight involving a submarine defence depot.

All Cadiz hospitals were early this morning already filled with casualties and injured persons are being sent to hospitals in the nearby town of San Fernando.

The number of dead and wounded is not yet known.

The explosion originated in a warehouse of chemical products at the Larrinaga and Chazarreta shipyards and spread to stocks of torpedoes and munitions at the submarine depot more than half a mile away.

The explosion shook houses 15 miles away in Jerez, the famous sherry centre.

The radio at Jerez and at Seville, 60 miles away, where repercussions of the explosion were also heard, are now broadcasting appeals for local doctors to go to Cadiz.

HEAVY CASUALTIES

CADIZ, August 19, (U.P.A.): Towering fires which raged for 17 hours were brought under control late today while hundreds of searchers still dug in debris for the bodies of casualties in what some described as the worst disaster of the 20th century.

There was no official estimate of the number of casualties with figures ranging from guesses by a local newspaperman at 500 killed and 5,000 injured to Mayor Sanchez Coscia's estimate of 200 killed and "thousands" injured.

Property damage ran into millions of pesetas.

GENEVA, August 19, (A.P.A.): India will have permanent seat on the Executive Board of the proposed International Trade Organisation if the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee is approved by the World Trade meeting in Havana next November.

India's application for a permanent seat was supported there by the United States and China.

Soviet Charge-Sheet Against U.S.A. Gromyko For Direct UNO Action In Indonesian Dispute

LAKE SUCCESS, August 19, (U.P.A.): Russia today accused the United States of trying to force its "good offices" on the Indonesian Republic in an effort to bypass the Security Council and protect American interests in East Indies.

Russia's Andrei Gromyko called on the Security Council to disregard the American offer to intervene in the Dutch-Indonesian dispute and "take (Continued on Page 5)

A Nation

Held

Its Breath....

February 19, 1943, Mahatma Gandhi was fasting unto death in the Aga Khan Palace the airtight prison where he had been locked up without charge and without trial.

The sands of life were slowly running out. And a helpless nation was plunged into the deepest despondency. Frustration and gloom were everywhere. Nobody dared even hold a protest meeting.

Pashabhai Patel and Company, a quarter century old business corporation organized for the introduction and sale of agricultural machinery and tractors could stand no longer. So on that February morning Pashabhai Patel telegraphed Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India—

H. E. LORD LINLITHGOW
 VICEROY OF INDIA
 NEW DELHI

PLEASE RELEASE MAHATMA GANDHI IMMEDIATELY (.) NO MATTER HOW MUCH YOU JUSTIFY YOUR PRESENT REPRESSIVE POLICY AND HOW MANY INDIAN MINISTERS YOU MAY HAVE CHOSEN FOR SUPPORTING YOU IN EXPLOITING INDIA'S UNFORTUNATE HELPLESSNESS FOR FURTHERING BRITAIN'S WAR AND PEACE INTERESTS AND INTENTIONS THE PEOPLE OF INDIA INCLUDING ALL FUTURE GENERATIONS TO COME MUST HOLD YOU ANSWERABLE BEFORE GOD (.) FROM YOUR LOFTY SITUATION INDIA'S GREATEST SON STARVING TO DEATH IN A PRISON WHERE YOU HAVE SENT HIM WITHOUT CHARGE AND ARE DETAINING WITHOUT TRIAL MAY SEEM A FRAIL AND PUNY OPPONENT OF YOUR MIGHTY MACHINE BUT SO ALSO DID JESUS BEFORE THE CROSS (.) YOU CAN STILL ACT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

PASHABHAI PATEL AND COMPANY

And he followed it up with a letter canceling all Army contracts and refusing to pay income tax amounting to about two hundred thousand rupees. The results are well-known to all. Pashabhai Patel went to prison and the Company's effects were taken by the Government. Everything went, even life insurance and passport were gone, for ever, as many thought.

AND TODAY...

Today we look back a quarter of a century with a certain satisfaction on what has been achieved. And we look forward with confidence and hope to a future full of greater struggles and—greater opportunities in the Service of India's Agriculture.

And, long live Mahatma Gandhi so that with malice towards none and with charity for all this nation under God may have a new birth of Freedom and Government of the people, for the people, by the people may not perish from the earth." Pashabhai Patel and Company, Construction House, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

Agricultural Engineers to the Nation.

Blessed Dawn of Independence!

The 15th of August 1947 marks the dawning of a new era in India—the era of Independence.

For centuries past, there hardly was an occasion more propitious, more enlivening than the present one, because it brings forty millions of men and women to the door of vast and dynamic possibilities in all spheres of social and economic development. The trials and tribulations undergone in the past by millions of patriots, the self-sacrificing blood shed by countless martyrs, have at last ended in triumphant consummation which we celebrate to-day.

But far from being an occasion for the foregoing, it is an occasion for pause and reflection. The responsibilities that have devolved upon our shoulders are great and fraught with immense significance, they call for constant alertness, constant vigil and co-operative effort with an eye to the greatest good of the greatest number. This of course will not be impossible of achievement unless our countrymen, to rise equal to the needs of the time, India is soon to occupy a foremost place in the comity of nations.

Long Live Free India!

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Songs & Dialogues: MADHOK

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Director:

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MINERVA Daily: 3-30, 6-30
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Jawaharlal Nehru.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL SHIPPING

The film which tells the story of how India fights to have her own ships under her own flag. See and hear:

Mahatma Gandhi, Quai-de-Azam, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Dr. Rabin-drath Tagore, Sri Vithalbhaji Patel, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Netaji Subash Bose, Sri Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Abdul Quadir, H. H. The Aga Khan, Srimati Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Malik Feroz Khan Noon.

TAKE PART IN THE STRUGGLE.
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IN THE DARK



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OUT OF THIS..



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CITY & SUBURBS

To-day

Hindu: Shravan Shud 4, 2003
Muslim: Savval 3, 1366
Parsi: Aspadarmad 21, 1316
Sunrise: 6-21 a.m. Sunset: 7-04 p.m.
High tide: 02-22, 14-33
Low tide: 08-16, 20-52

Today's Engagements

B. P. FORWARD BLOC: A meeting of the B. P. Forward Bloc to-day at 6 p.m. at the party office, R. L. Trust Hostel Opera House. Mr. R. S. Rulker will address the meeting.

BLAVATSKY LODGE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY: Prof. D. D. Kanga on "Education for the new age" at the Besant Hall of the Lodge, French Bridge, Chowpatty to-day at 6-30 p.m. (S.T.)

UNITED LODGE OF THEOSOPHISTS: 'Notes on the Bhagavad-Gita' will be taken up for study to-day at 6-15 p.m. at Jehangir Wadia Building, Opposite Flora Fountain.

B.S.N. WORKERS' PURSE TO ASHOKA MEHTA: The workers of the Bombay Steam Navigation (Dock) presented a purse of Rs. 1501 to Shree Ashoka Mehta, to be utilised for the Socialist Party, in the meeting held on the 14th, inst., in the factory, Shree Jai Prakash Narain Building.

MYSCORE ASSOCIATION: Meeting in the Association premises to-day at 7 p.m. to wish godspeed and bon-voyage to Messrs. N. Subramaniam and C. Nanjundiah proceeding to the U.S.A. and the U.K. respectively.

ALL-INDIA FORWARD BLOC: The Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc will meet in Calcutta at the Hotel Metropole on August 23 and the following days.

PUNJAB JAIN BHARATRIYA SABHA: Punjab Jain Bharatriya Sabha will celebrate Samvatsari to-day at 2 p.m. in Vidya Mandir Hall, 17th Road, Khar. Mr. Harish C. Jain, will preside. The programme will include Bhajans, Shastri Path, lectures etc.

BOMBAY NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY: Annual general meeting to-day at 6 p.m. in the Lecture Room of the B.E.S. & T. Company, Electric House, Ormiston Road, Bombay. Maj. Jim Corbett, author of "The Man-eaters of Kumaon", has promised to lecture and show a series of wild life films.

BOMBAY ART SOCIETY: Mr. V. R. Amberkar will give a talk on "What is good art" at the Salon of the Bombay Art Society at 6 p.m. to-day.

DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF K. R. CAMA: Under the joint auspices of the Rahnumai Sabha and the Gatha Society the death anniversary of Mr. K. R. Cama will be observed to-day (Wednesday) at the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Library Hall, Apollo Street. Jashan ceremony at 5 p.m. At 6 p.m. a gathering will be held when Dr. Irach Taraporewalla will preside and Dasturji Bode and others will speak on Life and Work of the late Mr. Cama.

MR. ADAM ADIL RETURNS: Mr. Adam Adil, who had been to Geneva to attend the International Labour Conference, returned to Bombay by S. S. 'Strathmore' on Sunday last. Mr. Adil was given a rousing reception at Ballard Pier by Nationalist Muslims and Labour Workers.

INDEPENDENCE BONUS: "Shri Gangadhar Printing Press of Dadar has declared one month's bonus to its workers on the occasion of the Independence Day Celebration."

CITY MURDER SUSPECT ARRESTED

BOMBAY, Tuesday.
The C.I.D. arrested Ali Akbar Sarkhan, a watchman, who was on duty at Clare Road on Sunday night, suspected to be connected with the alleged murder of two Marwar businessmen in that locality the same night.

It was stated that on Sunday night two Marwar businessmen, Rajmal Shira Shah (22) and Okschand Shira Shah (28) slept in their shop, on the ground floor of Hallaji Park building, Clare Road, after closing the front and rear doors. Two planks of the front door were kept half open for ventilation.

On Monday morning at 8-30 a.m. Chunilal Kesarimal, a friend of these Marwaris was returning from temple after prayers. He went to see his friends and found that the doors were closed. He got suspicious and informed the Nagpada Police.

The police officer visiting the place found that the shop was ransacked and the two Marwaris were strangled to death by means of towels. Their bodies were put in two big boxes in the shop.

The suspect was arrested on Monday. He was remanded into police custody at the Esplanade Police Court.

TO-DAY ON RADIO

WEDNESDAY, August 20.
BOMBAY-1 7-30 a.m. Swar Kalika (by D'Amel) 7-40 News (M) 7-50 News (G) 8-0 News (E) 8-15 News (H) 8-30 Murali Manohar Swaroop (Guitar par Bhavgeet) 8-45 J. G. Gore (Bhajan aur Bhavgeet) 9-0 Jyotana Bhole (L.H.T.)
12-0 Variety programme (H. U. and H) 12-15 News (M) 12-50 News (G) 1-30 Mixed Melodies 1-35 News (H) 1-30 News (E) 1-40 Lunch-Hour Music 4-30 S. B. Mane (Mumbai) 4-50 Madan Mohan (Thumri) 5-0 Murali Manohar Swaroop (Guitar par Puri) 5-15 S. B. Mane (Vocal) 5-45 Topic of Day 5-55 Local 6-0 News (E) 6-10 News (H) 6-15 Madan Mohan (Gharana) 6-30 Madhubhai Patel (Gujarati Bhajan, Narsinh) 6-45 J. G. Gore (Bhavgeet) 7-0 Madan Mohan (Thumri) 7-15 Murali M. Swaroop (Guitar par Bhajan) 7-30 Chalis Karor (Talk in Urdu by Dr. A. H. Qazi) 7-45 Geetmala 8-0 News (M) 8-15 News (G) 8-30 Readings from his poems by Sunderji Desai 8-45 Bolachya Dastgir by Shamsoo N. Oke (M) 9-0 News (E) 9-15 News (H) 9-30 B. B. C. News 9-40 Programme Parade 9-45 What has happened to our country (Prof. K. L. Khandekar and D. T. Lakshminarayana) 10-0 A. B. Mane (Bhajan) 10-30 Jyotana Bhole (Vocal).

Selections For Tomorrow's

Poona Races

Post Master And Georgie Should Win On Form

(By Our Racing Correspondent)
To-morrow's card is considerably well filled and a couple of Gwalior candidates who have been left in for the first time in the season compete with excellent chances.

Post Master and Georgie can hardly find defeat on possessed form. The following are my selections:—
1ST RACE: Lady Beautiful 1. Salma 2. First Port 3.
2ND RACE: Maratha 1. Mandir 2. Mussoorie 3.
3RD RACE: Mardian 1. Miss Gwalior 2.
4TH RACE: Post Master 1. Malajan 2.
5TH RACE: Emperor 1. Snehpabha 2. if absent Truman.
6TH RACE: Kamal Prabha 1. Savoyard 2.
7TH RACE: Parthian 1. Ayaaz 2.
8TH RACE: Georgie 1. Firefly 2.
9TH RACE: Sweet Serenade 1. New Moon 2.

CHOICE TREBLE:
Post Master, Emperor and Georgie.
Dark Flukes: Du Barry and Vikram Aditya.

For Thick...
Handsome Hair...
USE



Vaseline
HAIR TONIC

Central Govt. Employees Sworn In Anew

BOMBAY, Tuesday.
The Central Government employees in Bombay, from the chaprallis to the highest officers, took the oath of allegiance to the newborn Dominion of India today, the first working day after the declaration of India's independence. The oath was administered to the subordinates in sections and branches by gazetted officers. Those servants, who were absent today, will be required to take the oath on rejoining duty.

The Dominion Government have issued specific orders to all their offices in India that no servant should be allowed to continue in service unless he or she takes the required oath of allegiance.

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NATIONAL PLANNING demands Security and Efficiency. Equipment—scientifically designed, built to last, and moderately priced to suit a budget that has hardly anything to spare for luxuries; national planning demands national hygiene through countrywide use of pure, vegetable-oil soaps at low prices: Godrej manufacture to National Specifications, because Godrej is a National Institution. Godrej are by far the largest manufacturers in their lines of metal products in the East, and their soaps have made "Godrej" a household word all over the country.

Godrej

METAL PRODUCTS

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City Muslims Celebrate 'Id'

Over Ten Thousand Offer Prayer At Azad Maidan

BOMBAY, Tuesday. The moon being visible on Monday night, Muslims in the city celebrated the month-old Ramadan fast. The celebrations ought to have come off on Monday which was the officially declared holiday. They had to be postponed as the moon, which is the signal for breaking the fast was not visible on Sunday night, and the followers of Islam in Bombay had, therefore to continue their fast for a day more.

Muslim localities were in a festive mood today. Muslims in their thousands were seen moving about the streets in their colourful ceremonial costumes wishing 'Id Mubarak' to each other and giving alms to the poor.

Over ten thousand Muslims participated in the congregational prayers offered in the Azad Maidan in celebration of the 'Id'. Those present included Consuls of several Islamic countries in Bombay.

A special shamiya was improvised for the occasion. Maulana Nazir Ahmed Khojandi who led the prayers offered thanks to the Almighty for the creation of the separate Muslim State of Pakistan. He hoped that the freedom they had achieved would help them in bettering the living conditions of all classes of people, and concluded with a prayer for the general peace and progress of the world.

Prior to the prayers Mr. Hassan Sheikh, President of the Bombay City Muslim League toasted the Muslim flag. In performing the ceremony he recalled the trials and tribulations through which they had passed during the last few years. Now freedom had become a accomplished fact.

Haji Hasanali P. Ibrahim, president of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League in an 'Id' message said: "For the first time in nearly two centuries we are celebrating 'Id' in an independent country. Though freedom is the birth-right of every human being, it was denied to us upto now. On this happy occasion we must offer our thanks to God for His blessings of independence."

"After a month of fasting and prayer today is the day of rejoicing. During the last one year we have passed through terrible days. Let us forget the past and face the future boldly wherein we have to ameliorate the condition of the common man. We believe in universal brotherhood and practice the same. The 'Id' has brought with it happy memories. Let us trust and pray fervently that peace and happiness will once more return to this land."

CONSUMERS TO GET BOILED RICE

In view of existing difficult food situation Bombay Government has been required to accept a fairly good portion of its allotment of rice in the form of boiled rice. Whenever, therefore, stocks of raw rice are exhausted, these stocks of boiled rice have to be issued to the consumers in Bombay City.

BASMATI RICE

Stocks of raw Basmati rice are already exhausted and it has not been possible to obtain fresh supplies of this variety from the Punjab. The Government has, however, some stocks of superior boiled rice (known as Sola Basmati rice) from the Punjab and the authorised ration dealers have been advised to obtain supplies of this variety for their customers. The retail price of this rice is Rs. 2-8-0 per payal.

ALLEGED FIRING BY TROOPS IN E. PUNJAB

Mitra Mandal's Protest

BOMBAY, Tuesday. The Punjab Mandal held a meeting held today passed a resolution condemning the alleged firing by troops in the Amritsar and Lahore districts of East Punjab. The resolution urges the Government of India to protect the life and property of Hindus and Sikhs in those areas. The Mandal requested Hindus and Sikhs in Bombay to suspend business on Wednesday.

England Declare At 325 For 6 Wickets In 2nd Innings

South Africa Score Eight For One In Remaining Half Hour

LONDON, AUG. 19. (REUTERS). IN THE FIFTH CRICKET TEST ENGLAND IN THE SECOND INNINGS SCORED 325 FOR SIX WICKETS AND DECLARED LEAVING SOUTH AFRICA HALF AN HOUR'S BATTLING TO-DO.

SOUTH AFRICA SCORED EIGHT FOR ONE AT CLOSE OF PLAY.

South Africa lost the last six wickets for 98 runs on a wearing wicket when the fifth cricket test match between England and South Africa was continued at Kennington Oval today. They saved a follow-on. They totalled 302 to finish 125 runs behind England's first innings of 427.

At lunch England were 13 for no loss in their second innings.

W. Copson, the Derbyshire fast-medium bowler finished off the South African innings by taking the last three wickets in seven balls for no runs.

Mitchell batted with superb patience for 129—his first century in the present series, but the sixth of the tour. His innings lasted six hours 20 minutes and included 15 fours.

Dawson, driving beautifully, completed 51 in 80 minutes and had batted 90 minutes for his 55 including nine fours, before he was beaten by Wright's googly. He helped Mitchell in the fifth wicket partnership of 72.

Mann with an aggressive knock helped Mitchell to save a follow-on. Mitchell's innings ended when he snicked a fast rising ball to Evans who made a grand legside catch. Twelve thousand people watched the morning's play.

England, going out for quick runs in order to establish a commanding lead for declaration to-night, lost five wickets for 197 runs were beaten at tea, when they led by 353. Denis Compton, who is 74 not out and has scored more than 1,000 runs off South African bowling this tour, reached 50, including six fours, in an hour.

Hutton, with some masterful driving and Washbrook made a bright start with 55 in 35 minutes. But at 73, scored in 55 minutes, Hutton, who was impatient at his inability to score off Mann's good length bowling, was caught at mid-on when trying to force a straight ball away. Sixteen runs later Washbrook mis-timed a big hit off Rowan and was caught at a wicket. Compton delighted his thousands of schoolboy admirers with a bright display of 25 in the first ten minutes. Robertson, after helping Compton add 69 in 46 minutes for the third wicket, was bowled by Rowan's off-break at 159.

Yardley was out of a well-judged catch by substitute fielding for Tuckett, who left the field, and one run later Cranston was caught at short slip. Compton and Howarth attacked the bowling and added 30 in the last ten minutes before tea.

England, scoring 115 in an hour after tea, declared at 325 for 6, leaving South Africa to get 451 for victory. COMPTON'S GLORIOUS PLAY. Denis Compton carrying his score to 113, completed his fourteenth century of the season, his fifth in successive matches and his fourth Test hundred in the present series. Only Herbert Sutcliffe (twice), Don Bradman (twice), Walter Hammond and George Headley have accomplished the last named feat. Compton reached 100 in 95 minutes, and then hit at every ball, until he was caught five minutes later. It was a glorious display of almost bewildering stroke play.

Howarth who helped Compton add 87 in 42 minutes for the sixth wicket, was helped by Evans in a stand of 38 in 25 minutes. England's innings lasted only three hours, 2 minutes.

Yardley left his bowlers the maximum of seven hours to dismiss his opponents.

S. AFRICA IN PRECARIOUS POSITION. The South African attack was nipped after tea by the absence of Tuckett with a strained going.

South Africa lost Dyer's wicket off the last ball of the day after scoring 8 in half an hour and are in a precarious position, finishing 442 runs behind.

Official attendance was 19,416 and the receipts were £3,634.

THE SCORE BOARD

SOUTH AFRICAN FIRST INNINGS
CONTINUED.
Mitchell c Evans b Copson 125
Dawson l.b.w. Wright 55
Fullerton c Howarth b Cranston 6
Compton 39
Rowan b Howarth 36
Mann b Copson 30
Tuckett not out 0
Smith l.b.w. Copson 0
Extras 8

Total 302

FALL OF WICKETS: 5/243, 6/253.

7/254, 8/293, 9/302.

Bowling Analysis:

Copson 27 13 46 3
Gladwin 16 2 39 0
Wright 29 7 89 2
Howarth 39 16 64 3
Cranston 11 4 31 0
Rowan 9 2 25 0

Extras: byes 3, leg-byes 2. Wide one by Howarth; no balls two by Wright and Gladwin.

ENGLAND SECOND INNINGS

Hutton c Tuckett b Mann 36
Washbrook c Fullerton b Rowan 43
Robertson bowled Rowan 39
Compton bowled Dawson 113
Mann c Mitchell b Rowan 1
Cranston c Mitchell b Rowan 45
Howarth not out 39
Evans not out 9
Extras 9

Total for six wks 325

Fall of Wickets:—First at 73, second at 89, third at 158, fourth at 179, fifth at 10, sixth for 267.

Bowling Analysis:

Tuckett 7 0 34 0
Dawson 15 1 59 1
Mann 27 7 102 2
Rowan 25 1 95 3
Smith 3 0 27 0

SOUTH AFRICA SECOND INNINGS

Dyer l.b.w. Wright 4
Mitchell not out 1
Extras 3

Total for one wkt 8

Present bowling:—

Copson 5 4 1 0
Gladwin 2 2 0 0
Wright 2.5 1 4 1

Byes 2, leg-byes 1.

Bradman To Play Against Indian Team

MELBOURNE, Aug. 19. (Reuters). Don Bradman, the famous Australian test Match Captain told the Melbourne Herald writer, P. J. Millard, that he had not signed a contract to write on the 1948 Tests in England.

Bradman added that he felt better now than he did last season and hoped to play against the Indians in the forthcoming tour. But it was premature to say whether he would play any cricket next summer.

Millard adds that it may be taken for granted that Bradman will not be a candidate for Managership of the Australian 1947 touring team.

Ranji Trophy National Championships

BOMBAY, Aug. 19. (A.P.I.): The following is the result of the draw for the Ranji Trophy National Championships for the year 1947-48.

WEST ZONE: Sind vs. Bombay, Maharashtra vs. Nawanagar, Kathiwar vs. Gujrat, Baroda bye.

EAST ZONE: Bengal vs. Hoikar, United Provinces vs. Bihar.

SOUTH ZONE: Mysore vs. Centra Provinces, Madras vs. Hyderabad.

NORTH ZONE: Delhi vs. Rajputana, Northern India vs. Southern Punjab.

KARPATRIJI TO RESORT TO HUNGER-STRIKE?

Unless U.P. Govt. Stops Cow-Slaughter By Aug. 25

(From A Correspondent). DELHI, August 19.

Today a batch of Dharmveers under the command of 16th commander Shri Govind Narayana marched to the Secyariat shouting slogans of Dharma-jayiddha. Batches of 16th and 17th have already been arrested and sent to jail.

Syamsi Karpatriji Maharaj returned has left for Mathura to convene meetings of Dharmveer Dal at Mathura and Brindaban to consider the anti-cow-slaughter from there. In case U. P. Government does not prohibit cow-slaughter by the 25th instant and failing a proper response from the Hindus, Swamiji intends to resort to hunger strike to invoke God's mercy in or outside jail.

LOODS WASH AWAY CROPS IN TRAVANCORE

TRIVANDRUM, Aug. 18. (A.P.I.): Reports from North and Central Travancore show that due to continuous heavy downpours, high floods have inundated extensive areas of cultivation and habitation in several talukas. Loss of property is reported to be heavy.

The food situation has become more acute in the state due to a large portion of standing paddy crop having been washed away.

West Bengal Cabinet May Be Reshuffled

United Press of India understands that the West Bengal Ministry will shortly be reshuffled and a final decision will be taken by August 31 next.

Mr. G. L. Mehta is almost a certainty as the Finance Minister and names of Mr. Profulla Sen and Mr. Ananda Chowdhury, both of the Khadi Group are also being freely mentioned in this connection.

From all accounts it is almost certain that Mr. Javedanand Panja, Mr. Kumar Bimal Sinha and Mr. Kailash Mukherjee will step out.

Mahatma On Duty Of Majority To Minority

CALCUTTA, Aug. 19. (A.P.I.): Mahatma Gandhi in his post-prayer speech this evening said: "If the Hindu majority treasured their religion and duty they would be just at all costs. They would overlook the limitations or mistakes of the minority who had none but the majority to look to for justice."

Referring to the question of possible vengeance in Pakistan Mahatma Gandhi thought that it could neither be in Hindustan nor Pakistan. The proper thing was for each majority and another country in the states, the practice that was followed during the British regime, often under compulsion, should be fully and voluntarily followed in both the states.

Mahatma Gandhi stated that those who thought they could haughtily impose their will on the minority were foolish and vastly mistaken. If, therefore, they wanted to consolidate the existing good will they would see to it that they acted on the square under all circumstances.

NO OBJECTION TO LEAGUE FLAG.

CALCUTTA, Aug. 19. (A.P.I.): Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Chief Minister, West Bengal Government and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, today visited Kancharapara, 28 miles from Calcutta.

Mahatma addressed a mixed gathering of Hindus and Muslims at Kancharapara and impressed upon them that Hindus should not take objection to the flying of League flags by Muslims.

Mahatma Gandhi invited the opinions of dissentients. Thereafter, both Hindus and Muslims expressed their desire to fly both Tri-colour and League flags together.

Mr. Suhrawardy also addressed the gathering.

Dr. P. C. Ghosh asked the gathering to abide by Mahatma Gandhi's word.

On his way back, at the request of the residents of Baranagar, Mahatma Gandhi visited the place. Owing to the heavy rush of the crowd, however, he could not get off his car at Baranagar. From there the party drove to Mahatma Gandhi's Bellaghata residence. Although he was late by about an hour, he went to the prayer ground.

NO ECONOMIC STABILITY FOR W. BENGAL

Sarat Bose's Call For Reconstitution Of India On Linguistic Basis

CALCUTTA, Aug. 19. (A.P.I.): Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose says in a statement to-day that if West Bengal is to live, it is imperative that the provinces of the Indian Union should immediately be reconstituted on a linguistic basis.

The newly constituted province of West Bengal should demand the inclusion within her territories of the districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas which now form part of Bihar and also of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bagalpur and Purnea.

"The axe has fallen on Bengal and she has been cut in twain" says Mr. Bose. "Only a third of what West Bengal has been allotted by the Redcliffe Award to West Bengal. A cursory glance at the map of divided Bengal will show that the province of West Bengal will be poor in wealth, power and resources."

Mr. Bose considers that every province should have a substantial measure of economic stability and self-sufficiency and now that West Bengal cannot bank upon jute, she must have something by way of compensation.

Naturally, she claims the inclusion of the rich mineral district of Banbhum within her territories to consolidate her economic position. The mica of Santhal Parganas will also prove a valuable asset to her."

BARODA TO HAVE GANDHIJI'S STATUE

(From Our Correspondent). BARODA, Aug. 19.

The citizens of Baroda have decided to erect a statue of Mahatma Gandhi at some prominent place in Baroda city. A committee has been formed and it has been decided to collect Rs. 50,000 for the purpose.

DUTCH PLANE GOES BACK FROM KARACHI

KARACHI, August 19. (A. P. I.): "Skymaster" which was grounded in Karachi for about ten days returned to the Hague yesterday, carrying back all the 34 passengers.

UNLOADING OF DUTCH SHIP RESUMED.

The unloading of the Dutch steamer "Marikerk" lying idle for about a fortnight, commenced today. The Secretary of the Dock Workers' Union explained that in view of the Dutch-Indonesian dispute having been referred to America for arbitration their union has allowed them to do loading and unloading of the steamer.

RAOJI JANARDAN BHIDE DEAD

POONA, Aug. 19. (A.P.I.): Rao Bahadur Raoji Janardan Bhide, a former Finance Minister of Gwalior State, died in Poona to-day at the age of 83 after a prolonged illness.

Rao Bahadur Bhide has seen service in India, being a Senior and Junior and Gwalior for nearly 40 years.

INDEPENDENCE DAY ARRESTS IN GOA

BOMBAY, August 19. (A. P. I.): Three workers of the Goa National Congress, Mr. Evargio George, Mr. Amokar, Mr. Mario Rodrigues, were arrested on August 15 Independence Day of the Indian Dominion according to information received here.

It is stated that they had intended to hoist the Indian Union Flag in Goa in celebration of the Independence Day.

Rajaji Compliments Bengal

CALCUTTA, Aug. 19. (A.P.I.): His Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, paid to-day high compliments to the people of Bengal "for the miracle they have achieved in Hindu-Muslim unity during the last few days in Calcutta."

Of course the magician was here on the spot, said the Governor, adding "Mahatma Gandhi has achieved many things in his life time, but do not think he has achieved anything so great, so grand as he has achieved in Calcutta."

His Excellency was addressing the weekly luncheon meeting of the Calcutta Rotary Club as its chief guest. He unfurled, on the occasion, the national flag of India in the presence of a large number of distinguished guests and notables.

Urging the people to maintain the present relationship between Hindus and Muslims, he said: "We must forget the things that happened in Calcutta last year. We have closed the chapter and let us show the way. As Bengal had shown 40 years ago, how to start the struggle for freedom, Bengal has also shown to-day how to maintain that freedom again. I was full of apprehensions when I started for Calcutta, but I am now glad that I came to Calcutta. I feel I have seen enough, and to-morrow if I resign the Governorship of West Bengal and go away, I will have still something to remember till the end of my life."

"Bengal has shown not only how bad the patient can be," he said, "but also how completely the cure can be. I will now say to the Punjab, look at Bengal and follow her example."

SOVIET CHARGE-SHEET AGAINST U.S.A.

(Continued From Page 1) the task of arbitration and mediation of this question into your own hands. He said the Council must act without delay to send on the spot an observation team to Indonesia to enforce the Security Council's cease fire order. He said that as a second step it must establish a Security Council Commission to mediate and arbitrate the differences between the Netherlands and Indonesian Republic.

Gromyko contended that the Indonesian Republic had rejected the American offer of good offices in clear terms when it had appealed to the Security Council to mediate. He said the American manoeuvre seemed a "strange one" from the outset. He said, "this persistent offering of good offices becomes more difficult to understand when one considers the fact that after the Indonesian Government had received the American offer it addressed to the Security Council a request that the question of arbitration and mediation be taken over by the Security Council."

AMERICAN TACTICS

Referring to the "last chance" reminder by the United States that the Indonesians have not yet replied to Gromyko's said the appeal to the Council was a "reply which is very clear and has only one meaning." Gromyko claimed that two facts were apparent in American tactics. Firstly, the American offer on the Indonesian Government signifies not only lack of esteem for the Indonesians, but shows lack of respect for the Security Council. Secondly, the American offer is an attempt to by-pass the United Nations. This would be an undesirable decision.

Gromyko accused the Netherlands of attempting to violate the Security Council's cease fire order but conceded that perhaps some Indonesian forces were "unable to quell their fire" against the Dutch and therefore not in a position to observe the cease fire at the Dutch for contending that the Security Council has no business in intervening in the Indonesian dispute, calling the Dutch position "anti-Indonesian" and "anti-United Nations" in a situation disturbing world security."

Gromyko said the Dutch in Indonesia were taking advantage of every delay in the Security Council's consideration of the problem. He said, "the guilt falls upon the Netherlands who chose the path of war against Indonesia and thus took upon themselves the responsibility as a member of the United Nations. He contended that failure of the Council to act would allow the Dutch to occupy the whole territory of Indonesia and defeat the latest military."

U. S. REFUTES CHARGES

LAKE SUCCESS, Aug. 19. (Reuters): Mr. Herschel Johnson (U.S.A.) denied the Russian accusations that the United States had sinister motives in proposing arbitration.

There was no question of exerting pressure on Indonesia and if that country did not want American good offices they would be withdrawn at once, he said.

INDONESIANS REJECT DUTCH PROPOSALS

LAKE SUCCESS, Aug. 19. (U.P.A.): The Indonesian Republic officially rejected the Netherlands proposals for settling the Indonesian dispute outside the United Nations and urged the Security Council to act before the Dutch forces "put an end to the Indonesian Republic."

Former Indonesian Premier Sutan Shahrir rejected all the suggestions made by the Dutch and reiterated his plea for prompt Security Council arbitration and mediation in the conflict. There can be no feeling of safety or security for us if we are asked by direct negotiations with the Dutch to arrive at a solution," he said.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

NEW YORK, Aug. 19. (Reuters): The United Nations Security Council to name a Broad International Commission to mediate in the continued dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesians.

APPEAL TO WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

BATAVIA, Aug. 19. (Reuters): The Indonesian Central Organisation of Trade Union, known as "Sosis" to-day appealed through the Jogjakarta radio to the World Federation of Trade Unions to send a "fully representative brigade to Indonesia."

The brigade was needed, said the broadcast, to bring about the "cease fire" and force a withdrawal of Dutch armed forces from Indonesia, pending the decision of the Security Council.

MOB CLASHES IN SUMATRA

The Dutch 'communique' to-day reported "considerable military activity" on roads leading to Central Java, the chief centre of Indonesian resistance, and more clashes in Sumatra.

It added that the total Netherlands casualties since the Security Council's cease-fire order on August 4 had risen to 52 killed, 142 wounded, and one missing.

Casualties since the cease-fire now amounted to over two-thirds of the total Netherlands casualties incurred during the hostilities which began on July 21, the 'communique' added.

O. F. Karaka:

Off My Chest

The joint statement of policy of the Governments of East and West Punjab, backed up by the Governments of India and Pakistan is the most heartening statement which has come to the common man of the two Dominions. A strong, joint and united policy promising joint action to curb lawlessness must meet with the universal approval of every one.

The situation in the Punjab has steadily deteriorated. Many innocent lives have been lost. Much property has been destroyed. This must stop in the name of FREEDOM which the two Dominions now enjoy.

Yesterday I wrote about the average man in the new Punjab, forgetting his past bitterness and celebrating a man who belonged to our erstwhile British ruling class. I spoke of Nehru's message to British troops being in the new Punjab.

If our feelings for our rulers of yesterday can change overnight to become one of friendliness, it stands to reason that Hindu-Muslims and Sikhs who have fought shoulder to shoulder so long should and their bitterness and now work together.

In this connection one thing strikes me as odd.

While we received and reproduced messages of goodwill from all over the world, on exchange of congratulations and goodwill between India and Pakistan seems to have been conspicuous by its absence.

Why? We are the greater Dominion. We inherited the lion's share. Why was no official message sent from the People of India to the people of the new State of Pakistan?

I dare say we were preoccupied with our own freedom but if All-India Radio was utilized to give the good wishes of India, Portugal and other foreign powers, why was there not an exchange over the air between India and Pakistan?

What was the Department of Broadcasting and Information doing? Who is handling our publicity now?

Hats off to my kid brother who backed a double on Independence Day Races at Poona. He backed "Loyal" to "New India."

It was obvious, but not many of our racing experts saw it so clearly.

CRIPPS CANCELS BURMA VISIT

(Continued From Page 1) lar raids and arrests in suburban areas and outlying districts.

The President and General Secretary of the ex-Servicemen's Association are among those in custody.

This swoop on former guerrilla warriors of two Burma campaigns came as a sequel to a series of shooting affrays in Rangoon and the surrounding districts since last month's assassination of Ministers in the Council Chamber.

It was suggested that these men, who had not been absorbed in the Burma army or in the police striking force, had joined hands with political parties opposed to the powerful Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League, and had been responsible for many of the disturbances in the country.

One of the incidents on the outskirts of Rangoon last night was officially described to-day as "a likely attempt on the life" of U Tin Tun, Finance Minister in the Burmese Provisional Government and until recently Burmese High Commissioner in London.

A spokesman disclosed that security forces rushed to U Tin Tun's residence following a midnight telephone call, but the gunmen had disappeared.

Another was described by residents as a "brilliant half hour gun battle" in the dead of night near the Peoples Volunteer Corps Headquarters, which has been the scene of almost nightly shootings.

The headquarters are next to the residence of the Prime Minister, Thakin Nu.

Other shootings were in the neighbourhood of the Shwe Dagon, Rangoon's great golden pagoda.

Official comment on this was not available on press reports that Cabinet Ministers were planning to move to an "undisclosed address."

New Disturbances have broken out in the Arakan Division of Western Burma, which adjoins India to the north, where a campaign for separate Arakanese State has been going on for some months, according to Burmese Press reports to-day.

We greet India and her people in their new found freedom. May it bring them peace and prosperity

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"SARDI" REVIEWS OUR SCREEN

Super OLD ARABY

Arabia always carries with it the spell of an enchantment, more so when Vanmala is presented in a setting of desert and stars. Actually, HATAMTAI tells of the selfless service of a patriot who loves his fellow-men more than himself.

Vanmala is supported by Amli Karnataki, Kamal, Kapoor and Hamid. The direction is by G. R. Sethi.

Better Organisation Needed In Our Film Studios By "SARDI"

Every now and then one hears rumours of one or other of our film producers deciding to make their films in the U.S.A.—The latest film mogul reported to be contemplating such a move is Mehboob.



Karan Diwan in "Do Dil" (New West End).

Muslims In London Condemn Boundary Commission Award Describe It As "Open Invitation To War Between Hindustan And Pakistan"

LONDON, Aug. 19 (Reuters): Mr. Ali Mohammed Khan, President of the Muslim League of Great Britain, described the award of the Boundary Commission in India as an "open invitation to war between Hindustan and Pakistan" when he addressed a dinner of the League here last night. Nearly 500 members and friends of the League, among them the Chinese and Turkish Ambassadors and the Saudi Arabian Charge d'Affaires, crowded the dining room of the Great Eastern Hotel here to "rejoice at the birth of the Sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan".

Welcoming Mr. Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola, the first Pakistan High Commissioner in London and the guest of honour, Mr. Khan said the decision of Sir Cyril Radcliffe, President of the Boundary Commission, was "unwise and disgraceful and unjust".

The Commission's report was one-sided and unfair to Pakistan. The members of the majority areas had been completely overlooked.

In the Punjab, nearly the whole of Amritsar and Lahore had been given to Hindustan. In Bengal, the areas in the eastern part having a Muslim majority had gone to Hindustan. The President of the Boundary Commission had gone beyond his terms of reference.

"It is an open invitation to war between Hindustan and Pakistan and it will not encourage us to remain in the Commonwealth," he declared.

Calling for Muslim unity, Mr. Rahimtoola said, amid cheers: "Let us offer our whole-hearted co-operation and, with that singleness of purpose which gave us success, stand again shoulder to shoulder in making Pakistan."



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CURRENT PHOTOPLAYS

New West End
A BELLE AND TWO ROMEO'S
Jamuna Productions' DO DIL is belied by its title, for it actually deals with three hearts belonging to a rustic maiden, her village sweetheart and an aristocrat. Thus the erstwhile triangle is drawn with peasant winning peasant in the end.

The most promising feature of the photoplay is the name of Madhok as the lyric-writer.

Suraiya, Motilal of the brand new wig, and Karan Diwan frolic indifferently through the usual banalities.

Swastik
NEW RELEASE
Last Saturday, Jayashakti Pictures' MERA GEET had its premiere at the above theatre.

Produced by Ramesh Gupta, the picture contains the late Naseem Jr., Sushil Kumar and Vikram Kapoor who have played under the baton of Shanton Kumar.

Advance reports indicate nothing whatever of the story or even the theme after the fashion of most such publicity "blurbs".

Royal Opera House
MAJESTIC PICTURE
Yet another average picture from the Prakash Studios is NARSIN MEHTA which serves but to remind one sadly of the glory that once was theirs.

The devotional theme of this photoplay has been taken from the pages of Gujarati legend. As is to be expected from a picture of this nature, there are in its many 'bhajans'.

Containing a practically unknown cast, the film was directed by Vijay Bharti.

Kamal, City Light & Broadway
BARID NAZIR
Realising that time does not stand still, the verile Nazir has chosen to appear in a character role in Hind Pictures' YADGAR, complete with grey-beard.

The picture boasts of topicality inasmuch as it endeavours to deal with the problems of free India.

As always, Nazir has directed the picture infusing into it a vein of Hindu-Muslim harmony.

sary for producers to rush abroad with vainglorious hopes. Let them send their technicians on intensive courses abroad and on their return give them the opportunity of working on the best of machinery, which they should do everything in their power to obtain or to manufacture if this is at all possible.

IMPROVE PRODUCTION METHODS

However, the chief factor they must take into account when setting their houses in order, is improvement of production methods. At the moment, any fool of a Tom, Dick or Harry, or rather Tandon, Dongre or Hariprasad, can enter the production field so long as he possesses the primary qualification of being the owner of an over-flowing bank-balance! Films are made in haphazard manner, often the most shocking similes turning out a trite story with banal dialogues, plagiarised songs and tunes and the most amateurish direction and photography. Then he can sit back and call himself "the greatest, most enterprising, super producer-author-actor-director ever!" The public may lap up these monstrosities for some time, but they will not do so for ever, especially in view of their impending cultural progress.

Let our producers organise themselves methodically. Instead of having a few Jacks-of-all-trades, let them have experts at the helm of every single department of a studio, such as sound-recording, photography, scenario-writing, music direction and publicity. It always pays to employ, at however high a salary, a specialist rather than take on a low-paid, inefficient "know-all" to bungle matters. Without a proper organisation, our producers should not hope to turn out really successful motion pictures, even with the best of technical assistance one of the greatest nations of the world.

"The birth of this new state is not a gain to one party only. It is of ultimate advantage to its citizens and to the nations near and far."

FULLEST CONSENT TO PARTITION

Pakistan, Mr. Rahimtoola said, was an essential part of world economy and by mutual co-operation, could render invaluable service to the entire world.

"The same wisdom which guided the leaders of Great Britain and Hindustan in giving their fullest consent to the partition of India, will, I hope, assert itself in forging new ties of friendship among equals, thus rendering invaluable service."

Lord Listowell, the former Secretary of State for India, referred to the birth of Pakistan as an epoch-making event.

"If we look back at the course of history, what new nation has been born in happier circumstances than Pakistan," he said.

For Pakistan has come into being as a result of mutual agreement and consent instead of emerging like the majority of modern nations after years of civil or international strife.

LISTOWELL PRAISES JINNAH

Lord Listowell said: "The achievement of statehood on the part of your nation has earned the admiration and respect of the civilised world. Many political leaders have contributed to this happy consummation, by far the most prominent part being played by your first Governor-General, Mr. Jinnah."

"His wise guidance and patient determined endeavour has earned him not only the gratitude of his own people but of the whole of the inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent."

"It is pleasant to know that I am speaking at the high watermark of friendship between this country and Pakistan. I wish Pakistan the prosperity, tranquillity and moral stature among the nations of the world that are the true qualities of national greatness."

Mr. Hector Hughes, Member of Parliament, referring to the report of the Boundary Commission said: "I submit to you that there has been a grave distinction made. On August 15, Hindus and Muslims were one and on August 17 there is already a cleavage."

"The Muslims are entitled to know what principle was applied. Was it majority of populations? Were minorities considered? Or contiguity considered?"

"The Dominion starts its career without prejudice in international affairs. I venture to suggest that it would be a good thing if Pakistan had been allowed to start its career without prejudice in Indian domestic affairs," Mr. Hughes added.

The Saudi Arabian Charge d'Affaires said he hoped the spirit of Pakistan which was the centre of Islam would spread throughout the nations of the world.

His cry "Long Live Pakistan" was enthusiastically taken up by the assembly.

Majestic "ANMOL GHADI" CONTINUES

Mehboob's ANMOL GHADI still continues merrily on its way. The lyrics of Tanveer Naqvi set to music by Naushad, have no doubt contributed to the singular popularity of this photoplay, though discerning music fans will not be enraptured by this fare.

A very trite triangular story and indifferent photography indicate that Mehboob has let us down this time. Childhood sweethearts Lata and Chandra meet when grown-up, without knowing each other. Basanti, a friend of Lata, who is now an author, writes under the nom-de-plume of Renu, falls for Chandra who sells musical instruments to make ends meet. By the time the climax is reached, Basanti fades out of the picture leading the path clear for the lovers.

Surendra and Nurjehan are nice as the 'young' lovers. Suraiya lends some sparkle to the proceedings.

equipments at their disposal. Instead of paying fabulous salaries to their over-estimated stars, let them level up wages and spend more than they are doing at present on other important personnel to be found in a film studio.

MOVING MOUNTAINS

Efficiency is bound to produce better results, just as a machine well-oiled in every gear, works better than one whose minor parts have been kept neglected. I could not select a more apt simile. Let Indian producers learn to run their studios on well-oiled wheels. Expensive Hollywood trips could be replaced by creating a well-organised, well-run Indian Hollywood.



The late Naseem Jr. in "Mera Geet" (Swastik).

'Every Citizen Will Have Same Rights'

Mahatab's Address At The Idgah Congregational Prayer
CUTTACK, August 19, (A.P.I.): There was great enthusiasm among Muslims of Cuttack when Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, the Premier, accompanied by Mr. Basmir Chandra Mahanti, M.L.A., paid a surprise visit to their congregational prayers at the Idgah. The Mathwall of the Idgah, Khan Mohammad M. A. Ahad, and Mr. Anwarul Haq received Mr. Mahatab on arrival and he was profusely garlanded.

After prayers, wherein Mr. Mahatab also joined, the congregation gathered round Mr. Mahatab to greet him.

Addressing them Mr. Mahatab said: "The provincial Government is determined not to give cause for any communal bitterness in the province wherein every citizen, whatever caste or community, will have the same rights."

Mr. Mahatab also joined in the procession which was taken out from the prayer ground.

In the evening, the Governor, Dr. Kailash Chandra Pant, Mr. Mahatab, attended prayers at the Raghunathji temple.

PANT'S BUSY DAY AT BAREILLY

BAREILLY, Aug. 19 (U.P.I.): A busy programme awaited the Premier, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant on his first visit to Bareilly, his constituency, after the attainment of India's freedom when he was given a thunderous ovation last night by the citizens.

On his arrival by car at about 6 p.m. from Lucknow he drove to the High School where he attended the 'At Home' given in his honour. The Premier then addressed a huge public meeting for sixty minutes in the Government High School ground after which he met Congress workers at the Circuit House. The Premier then dined with Mr. L. C. Jain, District Magistrate, and left for Lucknow by train at 11 p.m.

The meeting was attended by about thirty-five thousand people, large number of whom were Muslims in their 'Id' Day attire. The mosque situated immediately opposite to the pavilion where from Pandit Pant addressed the gathering, was illuminated on the occasion of the Premier's visit to this City.

Physicians From 36 Nations Conclude Conference

WASHINGTON, (UPI): Physicians from 36 countries of Europe, Latin America and the Far East have concluded a five-day conference on public health and child welfare here at the invitation of the American Red Cross.

They came to the United States to attend the fifth International Congress of Pediatrics in New York City, July 14-17. They then visited hospitals and clinics in the larger cities of the eastern seaboard. They also studied Red Cross medical services, including nutrition and nursing, administration of public health work and health teaching in elementary schools and the work of the U. S. Public Health Service and Children's Bureau.

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Sharp Rise In Steel Shares On Active Buying

BULLION MARKET STEADY ON PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT

Cotton Rules Dull With Restricted Business

Bombay, Aug. 19. The Bombay Stock Exchange was open today for one hour and ruled firm on active buying and short covering in steel shares. Cotton Mills shares also joined the upward trend and there was persistent buying in steel shares registered a sharp rise and Delfs gained about Rs. 70 during one hour. At the opening Delfs were quoted at Rs. 1940 and advanced at Rs. 1980. Towards the close there was slight realising and closed at Rs. 1975. Ordinary shares opened at Rs. 387 and after improving at Rs. 393 closed at Rs. 392. Indian Irons were done at Rs. 36/14 and Bengal Steels changed hands at Rs. 36/14. Forward silver was quoted at Rs. 109/9 and Forward Gold was quoted at Rs. 109/6. Towards the close there was increased buying and final quotations were as under:—

Rs. as p.
Ready Silver 175 4 0
Forward Silver 173 14 0
Ready Gold 110 10 0
Forward Gold 109 14 0

GOLD AND SILVER

The market was officially open but very little business was done owing to settlement work. Forward silver was quoted at Rs. 109/9 and Forward Gold was done at Rs. 109/6. Later on Ready Silver was quoted at Rs. 175/4 and Forward business was done at Rs. 173/10. Ready Gold was quoted at Rs. 109/9 and Forward Gold was quoted at Rs. 109/6. Towards the close there was increased buying and final quotations were as under:—

BOMBAY COTTON

The market opened quiet and unproved on short covering but the rise was checked by increased offerings and the market reacted. At the opening September was quoted at Rs. 430/8 and advanced at Rs. 432 on short covering but quietened at Rs. 431/6 on scattered liquidation. The market was steady at this level with restricted business. Later on the market was liberal selling and September delivery declined at Rs. 430/8. The market declined at Rs. 430/4 but rallied at Rs. 431/4 on short covering. The market finally closed at 4-30 p.m. as under:—

I.C.C. September 431 4 0

INDIAN COTTON PARITY

Indian Cotton September Contract is 15.81 cent points below New York October at Exchange rate 331.

HIGH AND LOW COTTON PRICES

September highest 431/4 lowest 430 closing 430/8.

PRODUCE MARKET

BOMBAY, August 19. The produce market was quiet steady with moderate business. There were reports of beneficial rains but Gujarat traders were buyers. **GROUNDNUTS:** Khandesh quality were quoted at Rs. 34/8 and Bold as well as Coramandel were placed at Rs. 33/8. New crop November-December Khandesh quality were quoted at Rs. 30/2 and Bold were quoted at 29/12. Groundnut Oil August delivery was quoted at Rs. 20/7 while September was quoted at Rs. 20/10. **CASTORSEEDS:** September were quoted at Rs. 16/1 while May opened at Rs. 13/4/8 and after declining at Rs. 13/4/6 improved at Rs. 13/4/14 and stood at Rs. 13/12. **LINSEED:** Ready was quoted at Rs. 31/8, August Rs. 31/5 and September-October at Rs. 31/3.

MADRAS SHARE BAZAR

MADRAS, August 19. Following are today's quotations:—
SUGAR AND BREWERIES:—Deccan 19/10, India Sugar 18/8, Mysore Sugar 52/8, Travancore 14/12.
PLANTINGS:—Bainadles 2/2, Cochin-Malabar 9/8, Chembra Peaks 9/14, Devashola 16, Fringford 10/2, High Produce 30/4, Kalam 13/4, Midland 8/7/6, Ouchterony 11/6, Pullan-godes 1/12, Thirumbadi 2/12, Vaikundam 8/10, Waterfalls 2/9/6.
TEXTILES:—Bengal Woollen 250, B. and C. Orgy 330, Cambodia 24/5, Coimbatore Pioneer 485, Dhanalakshmi 186, Janardhana 125, Kaleswarar 585, Lakshmi 227/8, Laxmi New 11/8, Mettur 298, Madurai 85/12, Palani Andavar 132/8, Rajalakshmi 207, Radhakrishna 352/8, Rangavilas 134, Trichinopoly 21/12.
MICELLANEOUS:—And Cement 85, Bruntons 8, Mysore Chem and Fert 14/8, Mysore Paper 16/6, Mysore Chem. Mfrs. 16/4, Mettur Chem. 12/10.

CALCUTTA MARKET

CALCUTTA, Aug. 19. Collyer's Bypore 165/175 Quilandy 200/210 Fibre Carbide 157/8 Unga-bled 152/8 Cocconuts Raw 125 Dry 200 Coconutoil 565 Copra Office 362/8 Dipsand 375 Madrasnotam 450 Pepper Wynad 565 Country 545 Dry-ginger Chennad 290 Ennad 280 Ceylon Robusta 95 Timber Pali 60/65 Junglee wood 25/28 Vellapine 40/45 Benteak 45/48 Teak 80/90 Mangroves 3/8/4 Teak 14/18 Rosewood 14/20.

INDIAN STOCK EXCHANGE

Bombay, Aug. 19. Tata Ordinary 1980 Tata Deferred 391/8 Indian Iron 36/14 Steel Corp. of Bengal 29 Bombay Dyeing 1080 Central India 36/4 Gokak 316/4 Kohinoor 575 Simplex X R 234 Swadeshi

RECORD OF ACTUAL TRANSACTIONS IN SHARES

Bombay, Aug. 19.

MILLS
Apollo 4/1 4 4/0/6 4/1
B. Dyeing 104/4 47/8 41/4 50 47/8 57/8
C. India 80/4 3 6
E. Textiles 700
Finlay 292 96 95 97
Gokak 315 12/8 17 16
I. U. Ord. 15/10 15/12 15/11 15/14
I. U. Delf 2/13/6 2/14/6
Indore 632/8 17/8 30
Kohinoor 572 68 71 70 74
Madhusudan 299
Meyer 232/8
New Great 373 79
Simplex 225 26 27 34 (Ex Right)
Swadeshi 595 91 95 91 98 96 602

BANKS

Baroda 164 (Ex Div)
Central 97/12 99
Habb 170 69/8
Reserve 117 16/8 17
Union 10/14
U. Commercial 75 76

ELECTRIC

Ahmedabad 145
Andhra Valley 1617/8
B. Tram 119/8 21 20/8
B. Suburban 156/12
Hydro 172 73 72
Power 1720

INSURANCE

B. I. General 22 (Ex Div)
New India 77 78
Scindia Steam 31/6 31/7 31/5 32/1

STEEL

B. Steel 28/12 29
I. Iron 36/6 36/4 36/4
Tata Delf. 1940 47/8 40 56/4 55 80
Tata Ord. 387 85/8 92/8 91
Tata 2nd Pref. 162/12 62 63 62/4 62/8

MISCELLANEOUS

Alecock 660
A. C. C. Old 162/8 63/8 63 64 63/8
Z. C. C. New 99 98/8
Belair 58 7 51
B. B. Old 467/8 79/4
B. B. New 165
B. B. Petrol 3/9
P. Construction 192 91 94
Tata Chemical 13/12 14
Tata Oil 70 70/4 70
Wimco 280 79/8 80

SPECIAL

Central Coupon 21/8
Manmad Mfg. 110
Ahmedabad Elec. New 110 8/12

LONDON PEPPER PRICES

LONDON, Aug. 18 (U.P.A.). White pepper was up one-fourth penny to 2/3-1/4 pence per pound and black pepper rose one-half penny to 1/6-1/2 during today's session of the London pepper market. Dealers said the market was quietly steady.

NEW YORK SEED PRICES

NEW YORK, Aug. 19 (U.P.A.). The following were prices of seeds on the New York market today:—
Lampoon black 33-1/2 cents asked.
Munton white 35 cents asked.
Castor seeds 210.
Cotton seeds 100.
Flaxseed 65.
Linsed oil 28-30/4.
Groundnuts 21.

WALL STREET MARKET

BARELY STEADY

NEW YORK, Aug. 18. There was little in the week-end news to influence the movement of commitments and initial steadiness was followed by quiet irregularity with main interest centred around the British price talks. Changes were mostly fractional with a predominance of losses which included leading motors, minerals and aviation. Later in the day a steady stream of charges relating to the conspiracy to fix steel prices. The averages were industrials 180.75 and rails 49.45. In the afternoon prices continued to succumb more to lack of interest than to any increase in pressure, with stocks recording declines of fractions to one point. After a steady stream of charges relating to the conspiracy to fix steel prices. The averages were industrials 180.75 and rails 49.45. In the afternoon prices continued to succumb more to lack of interest than to any increase in pressure, with stocks recording declines of fractions to one point. After a steady stream of charges relating to the conspiracy to fix steel prices. The averages were industrials 180.75 and rails 49.45. In the afternoon prices continued to succumb more to lack of interest than to any increase in pressure, with stocks recording declines of fractions to one point.

GOVERNMENT LOANS

Bombay, Aug. 19. The Securities market was steady with a fair amount of business. 3 per cent 1986 Conversion Loan was quoted at Rs. 100/8 while Municipal Loan was placed at Rs. 100/9.

BLACK PEPPER QUOTATION

NEW YORK, August 18.
September 34.00 Bid.
October 34.00 Bid.
December 31.00
January 29.00
March 27.00
Spot 35.00

Increased Hedge Selling On N. Y. Cotton Exchange

QUOTATIONS DECLINE OVER THREE DOLLARS PER BALE

NEW YORK, Aug. 18. (U.P.A.): Quiet trading and easy prices featured today's session of the New York Cotton Exchange. Persistent indifference to hedging and liquidation met buyers were keenly disappointed in the inability of the market to hold the rallies and were discouraged by the apparent lack of concern over the drop situation in the dry areas of the Southwest. The tropical storm failed to bring the expected showers apart from light rains along the non-cotton growing areas of the Gulf coast region. The improvement in other sections, with reiterated reports that the Eastern and Central belts may yet exceed the recent Government estimate, was allaying concern over the situation elsewhere. Hot and dry weather in the Southwest is considered to be favourable in that the sweltering temperatures are definitely arresting crop damage by boll weevils and other insects. The failure of the strength in grains to generate any bullish enthusiasm suggested that the market was still a trading affair with the burden still resting on the bullish element because of the expected expansion of hedge selling as marketings increase in a few weeks hence.

SHIPPERS COVER. Shipper covering against the cotton sold to Government for Japan and Korea and the sharp rise in corn served as temporary bolstering influences, but the pressure increased near the 33 cent level for October, which apparently was to be the resistance point on the advances. Prices remained under gradual pressure thereafter, finishing near the lowest and off 71 to 70 points. Expectations of a lower Government consumption report to-morrow, the dictating European political and economic uncertainties as well as the pause in the demand from textile markets were additional handicaps to the bull side.

The narrowing price spread between the Brazilians and Americans in the export market and the outlook for heavier shipments of raw cotton to Germany and Japan were encouraging, but the overall picture was still doubtful in view of the European conditions and dollar credit shortages. The New York Cotton Exchange Service Bureau noted that Brazilian pictures narrowed to 46 points under the American basis last week and since mid-July the spread between the two countries has narrowed by close to 4 2/3 cents.

EXPORTS TO CHINA. Mr. Read Dunn, Foreign Trade Director of the National Cotton Council was quoted to the effect that upon his return to Tokyo from his visit to Shanghai, the prospects of American exports to China will be made public. Dunn was reported to be of the opinion that the present supply in China was sufficient for the remainder of this year. Mills are now consuming at the rate of 150,000 bales per month. Dunn said that the Chinese trade was greatly concerned about the trend of the textile industry, particularly reports that a central trust is being set up to buy raw cotton and sell to textile mills domestically and for export.

It was also reported that official sources in Tokyo and Washington confirm press reports that a deal has been completed involving the importation of 170,000 bales of Indian cotton. It is learned authoritatively that negotiations are still continuing but prices have not yet been settled.

LARGER CARRY OVER. A thumb nail summary of the domestic statistical situation based on estimates made by the New York Cotton Exchange Service Bureau indicates that a larger surplus carryover is possible next July. The Exchange Bureau estimated the total supply this season would amount to 14,600,000 bales and distribution 11,300,000 bales, indicating a carryover of 3,300,000 bales versus 2,770,000 bales carried over this season. The Bureau also estimated that the domestic consumption would total 8,750,000 bales and exports 2,500,000 bales.

Traders believe that the market action to-day serves to strengthen the conviction that no sustained advance is likely for some time when a new appraisal of demand and supply will be necessary before the formation of any definite opinion.

CHICAGO GRAINS MARKET

CHICAGO, Aug. 18. Malze generally opened higher. The maximum permissible eight cents per bushel, reflecting the forecast of no rains in the maize belt. Bureau C. C. C. buying prices for wheat carried wheat, oats and July maize to high levels for the season. The late forecast of scattered showers in Iowa and Marrower premiums for cash wheat and maize pared the day's extreme advances. C. C. C. wheat purchases between noon Thursday and noon Saturday were 1,740,000 bushels at Kansas, city and 100,000 in Chicago on Friday.

WORTH STREET QUIET

NEW YORK, Aug. 18. (U. P. A.): Quiet trading featured today's session of the Worth Street Cotton Cloth Market. Executives said that the absenteeism was due to the heat plus the strike among three craft unions at Fall River which had reduced New England production schedules by 25 to 75 per cent. However, over the week-end the unions ratified a new contract and full operations are expected on Tuesday.

NEW YORK COTTON

NEW YORK, Aug. 18.
October 32.41-71
October Highest 32.93-19
October Lowest 32.41-71
December 31.97-74
January 31.77-75
March 31.41-76
May 30.58-79
Middling Spot 34.71-69

NEW ORLEANS COTTON

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 18.
October 32.30-81
October Highest 31.84-80
October Lowest 31.85-80
March 31.31-86
May 30.60-80
Middling Spot 34.08-70

CHICAGO WHEAT

CHICAGO, Aug. 18.
September 2.41-1/4 to 2.41-1/2
December 2.39-1/2
March 2.35-1/4 to 2.35-1/2

HAPUR MARKET

HAPUR, Aug. 18.
Wheat 22, Gram 16, Barley 14, Peas 14/14, Khaties 15/10, Bhattar 14, Moile 12/8, Bajra 12, Juar 11, Guwar 11/2, Arhar 14/14, Khaties 15/10 Urd 22/8, Moong 17/12, Gur 21, Shakkar 19/8, Sarson 9/4, Tarusad 24, Cotton Loose 45, Oats 11/12, Methi 14, Bardana 80, Asuy 81/4, January 88/12, Silver Forward 168/9, Opened 168/4, Highest 168/12, Lowest 168/1, Gold Forward 100, Opened 108/12, Undertone quiet bulls generally quiet.

SALES OF TREASURY BILLS

During the week ended the 14th August, Government of India Treasury Bills for Rs. 2,71,50,000 were sold in favour of the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India.

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WE CAN'T GO THERE, MUTT! THEY THREW YOU OUT LAST NIGHT!
TONIGHT WILL BE DIFFERENT! I'M GOING TO THROW THEM OUT!
PORK CLUB
NOW YOU STAND THERE AND COUNT THEM AS THEY COME OUT!
ONE!
NO, NO! DON'T START COUNTING YET! THAT WAS ME!

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Competitive Examinations—thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged edition (1947) of "A Manual of General Knowledge and Office Compendium" by Tripurari Saran of U.P. Secretariat is available. It contains innumerable subjects on general knowledge including general English, précis and drafting and questions and answers of past examinations. Pages 950. Price Rs. 10. T. S. Srivastava, 71, Motilalji, Lucknow. 6806

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PUBLIC NOTICES

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B. E. S. & T. COMMITTEE

Appointment of Deputy General Manager

APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED

from persons with the necessary

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PUTY GENERAL MANAGER

of the electric supply, tramways and

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Salary Rs. 2,000-100-2,500.

Applicants called for interview

will be required to attend at their

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Applicants should preferably be

not more than 45 years of age and

should possess one or more of the

following qualifications:

(a) Administrative experience of

not less than ten years pre-

ferably in a large public

utility undertaking.

(b) Corporate Membership of an

Engineering Institution in-

corporated by Royal Charter

and experience of not

less than five years in a se-

nior executive post in a large

electric supply undertaking

or a large transportation

undertaking.

(c) Suitable administrative

and/or executive expe-

rience.

Applications with copies of tes-

timonials should reach the Gen-

eral Manager, Bombay Municipal-

ity, B. E. S. & T. Committee, Elec-

tric House, Fort, Bombay No. 1,

not later than 10th September,

1947. 4850

CHIT TENDER NOTICE

SEALED TENDERS will be received in the prescribed form by the Superintending Engineer (Highways) Trichinopoly up to 5 p.m. on Monday the 1st September 1947, for the work of constructing a causeway across Coleroon at Anai-karachatram on Chidambaram Shiyali road.

NOTE: The site of the causeway is about a mile above the railway girder bridge in the main line of the South Indian Railway between Trichinopoly and Madras.

The causeway will be about 4,000 feet long and will have a 22 ft. roadway outside to outside of the body walls.

Copies of detailed tender notice schedule of quantities with blue print plans may be obtained from the Superintending Engineer on payment of Rs. 25/- for each set of documents.

Tenders are advised to send their Engineer Officers to inspect the site and get firsthand knowledge of the local conditions before tendering.

U. S. RAMASUNDARAM, Superintending Engr. (Highways) IV Circle, Trichinopoly. 5-8-47 4826

ASTROLOGICAL

3 questions 1-8-0. P.O. Send Time, Date, Place (Birth) Life-Reading, Annual predictions. Enquire: Vidyaranya Astrological Society, Bellary. 6804

RADIO

Radios for places where there is no electricity. Complete and excellent range from 3-valve set for local reception to 6-valve, three band all wave table and portable models all working off Eveready dry battery pack. Trade enquiries invited. Eastern Electronics, 14, Hall Road, Lahore. 6810

FINANCE & PARTNERSHIPS

Wanted A financier to become a Partner in a well-established runnings Factory manufacturing products of daily consumption in South India having a very good turnover of 25,000 per month—now under European Management—present working profitable—Must be able to invest minimum two lacs. Please apply Box No. 4844 "Bombay Chronicle".

MACHINERY WANTED

Wanted new or secondhand (i) Portable Engine 18 N.H.P. and above, (ii) Steam Engine, condensed and Lancashire Boiler 50 N.H.P., (iii) Ice Plant, 3 tons to 5 tons. Correspond stating specifications condition and price to: Abdul, Burma Street, Khanna, (Ludhiana). 6797

MACHINERIES FOR SALE

For Sale Foundry Moulding Machines and Air Compressors. Also Culpas Contact Western Mfg. Co., Hassan Chambers, Parsee Bazar St., Fort, Bombay. 6733

MISCELLANEOUS ADLETS

For Immediate lease as a going concern or for housing 10 to 15 families, Bangalore India's No. 1 class luxury hotel with up to date furnishings English sanitation for 30 rooms. Licensed bar. Sanctioned rations for 35 persons. India's best climate and healthiest location. Automatic telephones, concrete road, electric power and lighting. Excellent lake-side location, flower garden, billiards, tennis, 60 acres compound, own dairy, poultry, vegetable and fruit garden. Apply Post Bag 68, or wire "Lifetnsn", Bangalore.

The National General Stores, (Chemists and Druggists) Prop: M. Mendosa, Esq., Cowasji Patel St., Fort, Bombay Premier House for Chemicals and Drugs, Tonics and Medicines, Imported general provisions and superior quality cigars and cigarettes—Rates moderate. A Trial will Convince. 6814

MISCELLANEOUS FOR SALE

The Ambrosia (India) Tea Emporium, (Established in 1930) Mill Road, Coimbatore—Wholesale Tea Merchants dealing in all leaf grades and also supply in packets of 1 lb. 1 1/2 lb 1 1/4 lb 3/4 lb. Also one lb Leaf Grade Best Family Blend packets—Enquire at the above address. 6798

PUBLIC NOTICES

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF FOOD (INDIA), DIV. III

Office of the Chief Director of Purchase,

Mansingh Road, New Delhi.

Tender No. H.671(F)

THE CHIEF DIRECTOR OF PURCHASE invites sealed tenders for

the purchase of the undermentioned stocks of foodstuffs in part or

whole ex where lying—

No. 3, R.S.D. AVADI

Qts. 4671
Kits 1675
P/d. Ozs. 37,95,137
34 Tons 1615 lbs.
Qts. 4683
115 tons 1920 lbs.
33 tons 1175 lbs.
Nos. 5381
Pacific 24 hrs. Rations I. T.
35 tons 1174 lbs.
35 tons 1653 lbs.
26 tons 1842 lbs.

No. 2, R.S.D. PANAGARH

Qts. 11,001
Kits. 8,000
P/d. Ozs. 1,04,42,280
Qts. 78319
27 tons 829 lbs.
20663 lbs.
Lahore

No. 1, I.R.S.D. LAHORE

Qts. 6935
Gallons. 11913 1/4
25 tons 1924 lbs.
Nos. 394501
Tons 197
25 tons 1924 lbs.
15 tons 2115 lbs.

SSD, KARACHI

25 tons 1880 lbs.
11 tons 1280 lbs.
Nos. 30107
2 tons 1306 lbs.

VARIOUS STATIONS IN NORTHERN COMMAND.

Pacific 24 hrs. Ration I.T.
Tobacco B.T.
2 tons 1306 lbs.

VARIOUS STATIONS IN SOUTHERN COMMAND.

Tobacco B.T.
18 tons 523 1/4 lbs.
Nos. 1716
8 tons 68 1/2 lbs.

371(I) IND. SUP. SEC., CALCUTTA

Qts. 9969
SSD, DELHI FORT.
44 tons 48 lbs.

* Licence holders only can apply for these items (See para 10 below).

2. Tender forms are obtainable from the Office of the Chief Director of Purchase, Department of Food, Mansingh Road, New Delhi on applications which must be submitted before 4 p.m. on the 2nd September, 1947.

3. Tenders should be marked on the top of the cover "Tender No. H. 670(F) Purchase of QMG Surplus Foodstuffs" and addressed to the Chief Director of Purchase, Department of Food, Mansingh Road, New Delhi, so as to reach him not later than the 8th September, 1947 at 4 p.m. Tenders received after that time and date will not be considered.

Tenders will be opened in public at 11 a.m. on Tuesday the 9th September, 1947.

4. The quantities of foodstuffs shown above are only approximate. These stocks will be sold "as they lie and where they lie" with no claim in respect of condition or description of goods or ANY QUANTITY SHORT DELIVERED.

5. Tenderers must satisfy themselves about the condition of the goods. Those who want to inspect the goods can obtain on application and inspection Permit from the Chief Director of Purchase, Jammagar House, New Delhi, 2nd September, 1947 will be the last date upto which permits to intending purchasers will be issued.

6. Earnest money calculated at 5% of the tendered price must accompany each offer and be forwarded in the form of a Government Treasury Receipt (the deposit being classified under the

head "Revenue Deposit") or a Reserve Bank of India Draft or a Deposit at Call Receipt granted by any Scheduled Bank, in favour of the Chief Director of Purchase. No other forms of deposit will be accepted. TENDERS IF NOT ACCOMPANIED BY EARNEST MONEY WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED.

7. Tenderers must agree to keep their offers open upto 9th October, 1947, otherwise their tenders will not be considered.

8. Any tenderer who withdraw his offer after the 8th September, 1947 shall be liable to forfeit his earnest money in full to Government.

9. The Chief Director of Purchase reserves the right to accept any offer or reject any or all offers without stating any reasons for so doing.

10. Tenderers for liquor item must clearly state in writing that they hold licenses for sale of such articles and also quote the number of their respective licenses.

11. Sample boxes of "Pacific 24 hours Ration I.T." can be seen at the Office of the Chief Director of Purchase.

12. No assistance of any sort for transport etc. will be given by Government.

New Delhi.
Dated the 13th Aug., 1947
I. J. MALHAN,
Director of Disposals,
For Chief Director of Purchase.

4881

SCHEDULE "A"
NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC (Rule 8).

IT IS HEREBY NOTIFIED for public information in accordance with Rule 8, Part II of the Rules for Places of Public Amusement in the City of Bombay, 1914, made under section 22, sub-section (1) clauses (i), (j), (g) and (h) of the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902 by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, with the previous sanction of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council, that I Fidaali Mahomedali Potta propose erecting a Cinema House at the junction of Lamington Road and Bellasis Road on the ground belonging to me measuring about 4,600 Sq. Yds., and assessed under Municipal Ward No. 3406 (I B) Street No. 269 D and registered under Collector's New Survey No. 222 (Byculla Division).

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that any objections to the erection of the said Cinema House should be received by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, not later than the 5th September, 1947, that is to say within 14 days from the date of this Notice.

Bombay, 9th August, 1947.
HOSEINI DOCTOR & CO.,
Attorneys for Mr. F. M. Potta. 4815

G. I. P. RAILWAY
AUCTION NOTICE
USED GUNNY BAGS, Tea and Soap wooden cases, empty-tins etc., will be auctioned at 3 p.m. on the 21st August, 1947 at Shed No. 3 Wadi Bandar and on the 22nd August, 1947 at 10 a.m., at Thana grainshop and at 3 p.m. on the same date at Kalyan grainshop (near the Loco Shed). Stocks may be inspected at site on any working day. Conditions governing auction will be available at the Office of the Deputy General Manager (Grainshops), G. I. P. Railway, Victoria Terminus, Bombay. 4897

PUBLIC NOTICES

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES

AND SUPPLIES

Office of the Regional Commissioner (Disposals).

Mercantile Chambers, Graham

Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

Telegrams: REGDISCON.

Telephone: 30041.

DISPOSALS

THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONER (Disposals), Bombay invites tenders for the purchase and removal of 314 Nos. of vessels parts spares and accessories full details of which are given in Tender Form.

CONDITION. New and Unused.

LOCATION. M/s. Richardson & Cruddas, Nesbit Road, Byculla, Bombay.

SUPERSCRIBED REFERENCE.

Tender RCS/14020/VAR

LAST DATE DUE. 1-9-47. By 4 P.M.

Tender forms can be obtained from the Office of the Regional Commissioner (Disposals), Bombay on payment of Rs. 5 per set (not refundable).

Offers should be sent on tender forms enclosed in double covers the inner to be sealed and super-

scribed with the above reference name, number and should remain open for acceptance for 30 days from the date of offer.

Earnest money (refundable to unsuccessful tenders) of 10 per cent of the value of the offer should be deposited in the Reserve/Imperial Bank of India or Government Treasury under head of account "Revenue Deposits" in favour of Regional Commissioner (Disposals), Bombay. Tenders not accompanied by such Treasury Bank Receipt will be ignored. CHECKS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.

No guarantee is given of the quantity, quality, or suitability of the above stores sale will be subject to conditions of contract Con. 117 obtainable at this Office.

The stores can be inspected at site by arrangement with M/s. Richardson & Cruddas, Nesbit Road, Byculla, Bombay. 4391

OUDH TIRHUT RAILWAY

TENDER NOTICE.

1. SEALED TENDERS are invited for the following and will be received by the undersigned upto 14-30 hrs. on the 5th September, 1947.

Approximate cost.

Collection of 5 lakhs of small kunker size 1 1/2" to 2" kunkerquarry siding at Bodarwar and Kunraghat, Phanda, Gorakhpur, Ban-

kat and Bhatni including stacking to specification royalty and carting within Railway land and within one hundred feet of the Railway line. 82,000/-

2. The tenders may submit tender for full quantity or part of it.

3. Tender documents can be had from the office of the Resident Engineer, O. T. Railway, Gorakhpur between 10 a.m. and 4-30 p.m., except on Sunday and holidays on payment of Rs. 5/- per copy. The cost of the tender documents will not be refunded in any circumstances.

4. Tenderers not in possession of the Book of Instruction for the guidance of contractors etc. which will form part of the contract documents should deposit a further sum of Rs. 2/- and a book of Standard Schedule of rates can also be had on payment of Rs. 2/- per copy.

5. No tender will be considered without deposit of earnest money of Rs. 1,000/- which must be deposited with the F.A. & Chief Accounts Officer, O. T. Railway, Gorakhpur either in cash or approved bonds and the receipt number quoted in the tender. In no circumstances the earnest money should be deposited in Assistant Engineer or Resident Engineer's Office.

6. Unless the person whose tender is accepted, signs the work orders within 7 days after he is required to do so, the earnest money deposited by him will be forfeited and the acceptance of the tender withdrawn.

RESIDENT ENGINEER, Gorakhpur Division. 4859

BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY

NOTICE OF TENDER

1. SEALED TENDERS on prescribed forms, at a percentage above or below the rates given in the B. N. Ry. Schedule of Rates, 4th Edition are invited from experienced Contractors for execution of repair and maintenance works in the Section "Chhindwara (Ex.) to Itwari (Ex.)" of B. N. Ry. for the period from 1-10-47 to 31-3-48. THE PERIOD OF CONTRACT 5-48. THE PERIOD OF CONTRACT 5-48. THE PERIOD OF CONTRACT 5-48.

2. Tenders will be received by the undersigned upto 12 hrs. noon on 19-9-47 at which hour and date they will be opened in public.

3. Tender forms and other particulars about the tender may be obtained from the undersigned on payment of annas eight per set in cash.

4. Contractors who are not known to the B. N. Ry. must submit properly attested evidence of their experience and financial stability along with their tenders without which their tenders will not be considered for acceptance.

DISTRICT ENGINEER, NAINPUR. 4887

PUBLIC NOTICES

THE MODEL MILLS NAGPUR LTD.

LOST, MISLAI OR DESTROYED

APPLICATION and Allotment

Receipt No. 7939 and five call re-

ceipts No. 7896 in respect of four

shares of the Model Mills Nagpur

Ltd., in the name of Manohar Hari

Mahajan have been lost, mislaid

or destroyed. All claims in respect

of these four shares should be

notified within one month to the

Registered Office of the

Company, Ilaco House, Sir Phiro-

zoshah Mehta Road, Bombay,

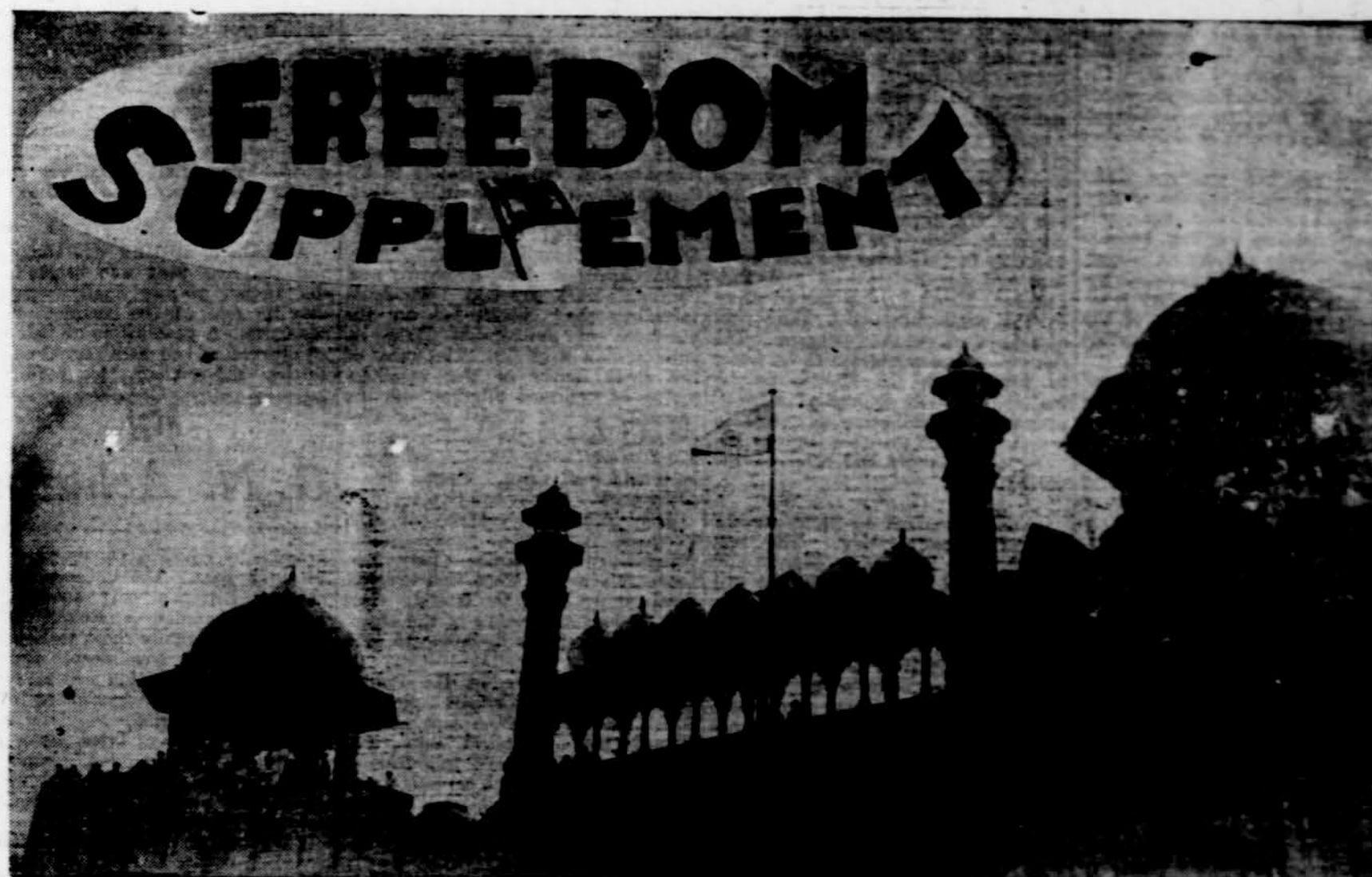
The Bombay Chronicle

BOMBAY: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1947

THE PLEDGE

"At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

This pledge was taken by members of the Constituent Assembly as the hour of midnight struck on the 14th of August 1947, heralding the birth of a free India.
Let each one of us take it to heart, too!



FIRST PREMIER OF FREE INDIA BEING SWORN IN



At the solemn ceremony which commenced at the Government House at 8-30 a.m. on August 15 with the swearing in of the Governor-General by the Chief Justice of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India, is being sworn in by His Excellency Lord Mountbatten. Mr. C. H. Bhabha, Dr. John Mathai and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, members of the new Cabinet, are seen at the farther end of the room (left extreme of picture) and their colleagues Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Baldev Singh are standing in the row to the left of Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten. Chief Justice Kania is seen in ceremonial robes to the right of Pandit Nehru.

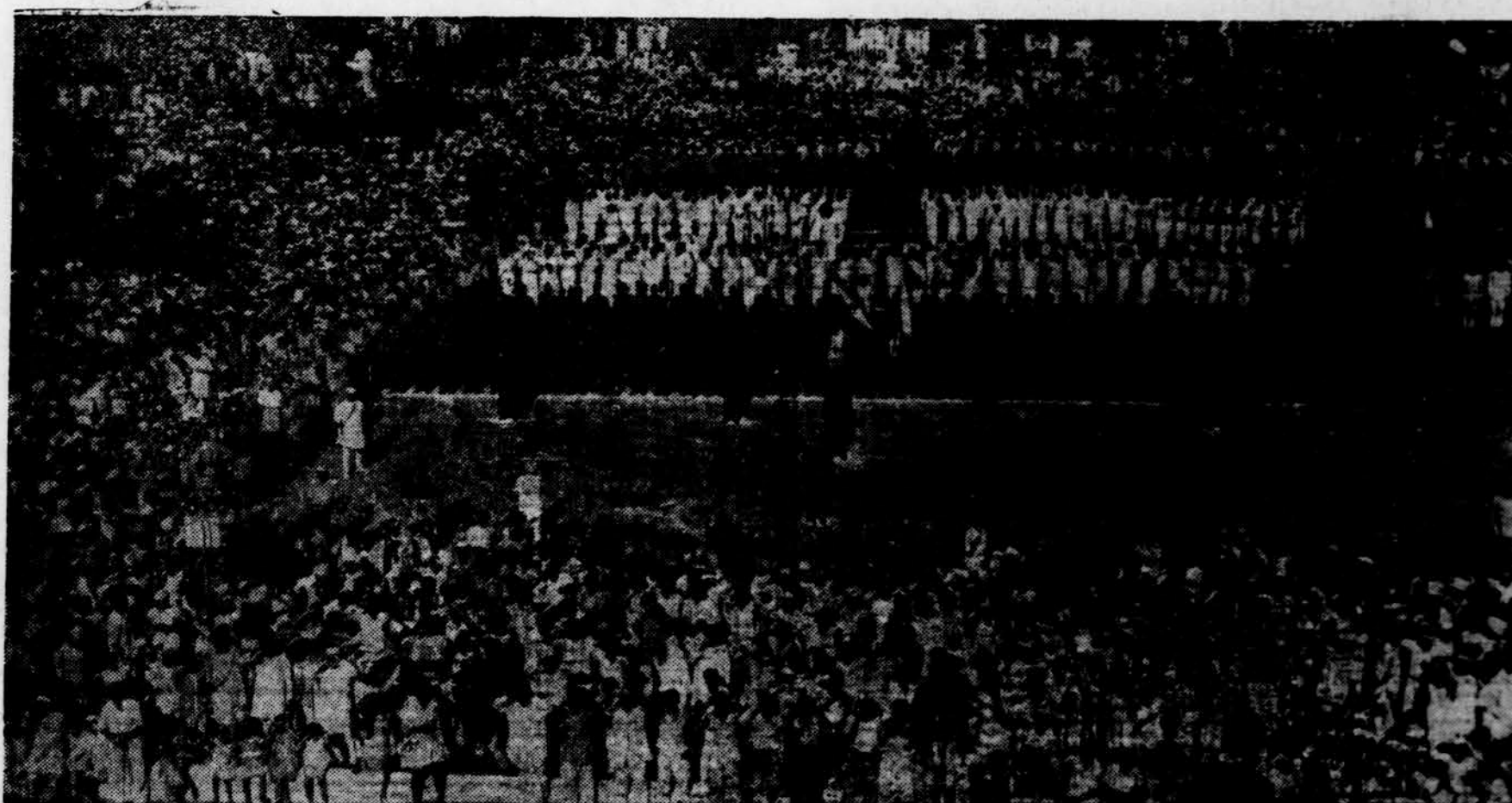
In one of the most impressive ceremonies connected with the declaration of independence, the National Flag of free India was hoisted over the turreted battlements of the historic Red Fort of Delhi on August 15 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while the old guard of the Indian National Army rallied to redeem an unfulfilled pledge. (See Bottom Left).

As already announced we are publishing today this Freedom Supplement in view of the fact that we could not accommodate all the articles in our issue of the 15th inst. We are grateful to all our esteemed contributors and trust that they and our kind readers will appreciate the present arrangement.

Editor, Bombay Chronicle

I. N. A.'s Rally At Red Fort

After many historic vicissitudes and in a manner which could not be predicted, the old guard of the Indian National Army, which came into being when Indians from all parts of the far-flung continent mustered in Singapore and Burma during World War II, redeems its pledge to hoist the National Flag over Delhi's historic Red Fort. This rally of August 16, on the occasion when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru hoisted free India's flag over the Fort was one of the most impressive ceremonies connected with the declaration of independence.



INDIA! MY INDIA!

India! My India! to glory arise
And blazen thy deeds in the starry skies
Arise from thy thralldom and walk proudly as of old
Let thy tales of glory be again retold
With non-violence and science as thy guiding stars
Rebuild the world that is sick of its wars
Let great men go forth from the land of the wise
And redeem the West that's fettered in lies
May triumph pursue thee and glory attend
The weak and downtrodden ever defend
On Freedom's broad basis a new-world build
Freedom that has come from men who have willed
Let new bards and pages unvalled soar
Thirsting for knowledge ever more and more!
Unbar the gates of science to thy eager sons
Whose deeds will dazzle a thousand suns
From war's dread confusion give peace to the world
Keep high the flag of Freedom—ever unfurled!

(All Rights Reserved).

C. RAJU.



The Indian National Congress THE SPEARHEAD OF FREEDOM'S STRUGGLE

The temple bells pealed their welcome. The thin trickle of devotees from the teeming city who came to this tiny temple amidst the sylvan outskirts, stood awhile to gaze at the spectacle of unwonted bustle, but quickly passed on. Not so the few ragged and rustic children, the obscure fisherfolk and the inevitable assortment of beggars, who lingered in the pleasant wealth of a December morning.

They never had seen so many horse carriages come together except at one of those rich weddings. But this clearly was no wedding, because there was no pipe and drums, nor all the familiar noise and fanfare, nor the tempting odour of savoury food-stuffs. It was, in fact, one of the quietest and least advertised gatherings in the annals of the city.

There were no doubt a large number of important persons. One could see that much from their dress and deportment. But even if the curious urchins had ventured to peep into the hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College adjoining the temple, where all the big ones were gathering, they would have understood little. Because, it was a gathering of "leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies."

There was Mahadev Govind Ranade, yet a judge in Poona, in his impressive red "peta" and others like Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, G. G. Agarkar, W. S. Apte, all dressed in the typical Maharashtra tradition. There were Dadabhai Naoroji, Dinshaw Wacha and Byramji Malbari, old and respected Parsi citizens; and Pherozeshah Mehta, already the acknowledged leader of the Bombay Corporation, all in their huge black parsi "pagdis" and long overcoats. There were K. T. Telang and N. G. Chandavarkar, two saras-wats settled in Bombay, who were later to become High Court judges. From Bengal came W. C. Bonnerjee, the president designate and Narendranath Sen. Madras had a big and powerful contingent in P. Rangiah Naidu, G. Subrahmanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu and others each in "dhoties" and "uparnas" and distinguishing caste marks. And there was Mr. A. O. Hume, the British civilian, whose long drawn labours had resulted in this conference which was called to "form the germ of a Native Parliament."

And so at 12 noon, on December 28, 1885, with a few urchins and beggars looking on in understanding curiosity, the Indian National Congress was born.

It was just eight years earlier that the Indian people had made a last desperate attempt to throw off the British conquerors by force of arms. Starting in Meerut in May in 1857 it assumed the character of a popular rebellion and a war of Indian Independence. But it was confined practically to Delhi, the United Provinces and parts of Central India and Bihar. The Gurkhas aided the British; so did the Sikhs. Many Indian Princes played the role of quislings and aided the British. So that although it threw up many brave souls such as Lakshmi Bai the Rani of Jhansi, a girl of 20 years of age, who died fighting, it lacked the character of a national rising.

The "mutiny," however, ended the feudal and decadent line of Mogul emperors. It also ended the rule of the East India Company. And the ruthless ferocity with which it was suppressed, gave birth to the beginnings of Nationalism as we know it today.

If the great gathering of 1885 was inspired by the urge for National Unity in the face of alien barbarity, it gave no hint of that feeling in the speeches made by the delegates or in the resolutions.

Fifty years later, a memorial tablet put up at the hall summed up the history of the Congress in the half century of its life. "In this historic hall," it said, "on the 28th December, 1885, a band of gallant patriots laid the foundations of the Indian National Congress, which during these fifty years has been built up stone by stone, tier by tier, by the faith and devotion, courage and sacrifice of countless men and women, as the pledge and symbol of their invincible purpose to secure for India, their motherland, her legitimate birthright of Swaraj."

While that is undoubtedly true of the later day Congress, in 1885, it was unaware of any such high aspiration. It merely started by asking for a few more jobs for Indians and a few more seats in the Councils.

The Congress had a prolonged hibernation. It was not till the year 1905, at the 21st session of the Congress held in the sacred city of Kashi that the lion-hearted Lokamanya Tilak let fall the ringing word

"Swaraj." And the very next year the Nationalists and the Moderates in the Congress split into two camps. Soon Tilak had linked up with the Bengal Nationalists under the fiery leadership of Bipin Chandra Pal, who were fighting a relentless battle against the Bengal partition. The Congress continued its accustomed round of petition, prayer and protest. Arrested on July 13, 1908 on a charge of sedition and convicted for the second time in his life, Tilak was removed to the safety of the Mandalay jail. A wave of terrorism that raised its head was suppressed. It was only in 1915 after the first world war had begun—Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta having passed away in the meanwhile—that Tilak was able to join a reunited Congress. The Concordat was completed at Lucknow in 1916, when the Muslim League and the Congress arrived at a 'pact' about the distribution of seats in legislatures and services and so on.

By then Gandhi had come on the scene.

Gandhiji arrived in India amidst a world conflagration. The first World War had just begun and Gandhi did his little bit for the war effort. He even acted a recruiting agent. India contributed at once nearly 200 crores of rupees for the war. She contributed even more by way of subscriptions to various war loans. She sent to the Allies products of her agriculture and industry, valued roughly at Rs. 500 crores. A little less than a million and a half men more than all the troops contributed by the combined Dominions of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand—joined the Indian forces. In France, in Palestine, in Syria and Mesopotamia, Indians fought for the Empire and paid with their blood. It was an Indian contingent that first turned back the Germans at the critical battle of the Marne.

India, therefore, was expecting great things to happen to her. But all Britain promised at the end of the war was "increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

Naturally a wave of protest broke out from one end of the land to the other. To curb the press and meet any discontent the government issued in February 1919, two measures now famous as the Rowlatt Acts. These sought to reimpose upon India all those restrictions of Assembly, press and speech, that had been in operation during the war. The protests were redoubled. Among them was one by Gandhi, who on February 24 dropped a bombshell on the Indian scene announcing that if the two bills were passed into law he would lead a passive resistance or Satyagraha movement against them.

A new factor had entered into Indian politics.

After his arrival in India Gandhi had founded on May 25, 1915, an 'Ashram' on the banks of the Sabarmati near Ahmedabad. Despite the unique and heroic experiment he had made in South Africa with the new weapon of 'Satyagraha' he was little known in political circles in India. In fact it is said that but for Tilak's partiality, he would not have been elected to the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Lucknow. Meanwhile in 1917 he had championed with success the miserable, down trodden tenants of the European planters in the Champaran District of Bihar. Next year 'Satyagraha' was tried on behalf of the famine stricken peasantry of Kaira. Incidentally it was on this occasion that Gandhi recruited to his ranks, a doughty and indefatigable champion in the person of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Jawaharlal, he had met earlier at the time of the Lucknow Congress. But Jawaharlal could not plunge headlong as the steely Vallabhbhai did, because his father was a restraining influence on him. But very soon father and son were both flung into the maelstrom of Gandhian politics.

At Champaran and Kaira Gandhi had felt the pulse of the nation. And in 1919 although he had just recovered from a very serious illness, he felt that the Rowlatt Acts agitation gave him the chance to try his weapon of passive resistance on a large scale. He set about organizing Satyagraha Sabhas. The usual polite letters were dispatched to the Viceroy. It was at once a moving appeal and a serious warning. Both the appeal and the warning fell on deaf ears. A call was made for a 'hartal', a day of mourn-

ing, for all India. This came off on Sunday, April 6, 1919. It was the first All India demonstration of its kind. It proved the nation was ready. A whiff of grapeshot did the rest.

Mistaking the date for the hartal, Delhi observed it on March 31—the previous Sunday. The police and military tried to disperse the great crowds in the streets and shot at them, killing some people. Swami Shraddhanand, tall and stately in his Sanyasin's garb, thrilled India, when with bared chest and unflinching looks, he faced the bayonets of Gurkhas in Chandni Chowk.

On April 9, Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal were arrested. Incidents following their arrest led to the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar on April 13. The story of the sheer horror of this merciless killing of unarmed pilgrims and the enormity of the official terror that followed shocked the Indian people. They were with Gandhi wherever he would lead them. There was no going back. It was too late.

The Amritsar session of the Congress was the first Gandhi Congress. Lokamanya Tilak was there, of course. That was the last Congress he was to attend. But Gandhi held the centre of the stage. And he still holds it—after 28 long years.

Under his leadership the Punjab wrongs and the Khilafat agitation, which Indian Muslims had already started was combined into one. Maulana Mahomed Ali was listened to by the Hindus with a respect only second to what they gave to the words of the Mahatma. The Juma Masjid at Delhi resounded with the

who had been roused to patriotism, but found nothing in the Congress programme to satisfy their ardent and impatient spirit were taking to terrorism. Inside the Congress itself a younger group was pressing and agitating for stepping up the fight for freedom, for increasing its tempo. And Gandhi watching warily found his chance when at the end of 1929, a young man of 40, one of the most prominent of the younger group—Jawaharlal Nehru, was elected to preside over the destinies of the Congress.

At Lahore, as 1929 was rung out and the new year was ushered in, the Indian Nation finally resolved that its goal will be complete Independence. A year before at Calcutta an ultimatum had been served on the British Government to fulfill its

By

G. N. Acharya

promise by granting Dominion status within a year. The ultimatum had expired Britain's only answer had been to summon a Round Table Conference, a gaudy show, in London. Discontent had gone deep. Gandhi judged that the nation was ready to have its claim to be free tested in the crucible of suffering.

So that 26 days later, on a day appointed by him, the people of India in city and town and village took the pledge of Independence solemnly declaring:

"We believe that it is the inalien-

Memorable August Scene



The mammoth crowd which had assembled at the Shivaji Park to hear the late revered Kasturba on August 9 being lathi-charged and tear-gassed.

eloquent speeches of Swami Shrad-dhanand. Hindus and Muslim met on the same platform and took the plunge. Never in the history of mankind had such methods been pursued. 30,000 civil resisters went to jail. Indians were being steeled in the ordeal of suffering. They were learning the spirit of defiance.

But the method was new and very difficult to follow. The riots in Bombay on November 17, 1921, on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, resulting in the death of 53 men, gave a rude shock to Gandhi. It was a serious warning that the people had not yet fully imbibed his lesson. The last warning came at Chauri Chaura, a village in Gorakhpur. On February 5, 1922 there was a collision between a crowd of peasants and the police who tried to stop a procession. The police were driven into their chowky which was set on fire. 27 policemen were burnt to death.

Gandhi now performed an act of moral courage unparalleled in history. He made up his mind that he would rather fail without violence than win with it. He withdrew the Non-Co-operation movement.

Immediately afterwards Government struck. On March 13 Gandhi was arrested; and after a historic trial sentenced to six years' imprisonment. By the time he was released prematurely in 1924, the Congress under the leadership of Deshabandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru had turned to parliamentary politics. Gandhi bided his time, meanwhile educating the people of India in his principles through Young India and constant tours and speeches.

At the same time Indian youths

able right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete Independence."

The observance of the day made it abundantly clear that the people would not waver. They would not retreat. They would stand by their pledge and remain steadfastly loyal to the ideal of freedom.

At dawn on March 12, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi set out, stave in hand, on his famous march to Dandi, a small desolate village surrounded by mud flats. There were seventy five picked volunteers with him. Along the three mile route from his 'Ashram' to Ahmedabad were gathered a 100,000 eager people to watch this last pilgrimage. Gandhi had vowed not to return to his 'Ashram' till Swaraj had been won.

For 24 days he marched on foot. No conqueror's route was followed with such eager expectancy. At 5-30 A.M. on April 8, Gandhi had his morning dip, picked up a piece of salt from the sea shore, held it aloft and went to his villa at Dandi. By the middle of the month all India was breaking British made laws. There was a peaceful rebellion all over the land. The arrest of Gandhi past midnight on May 5, and his removal to Yerowada, made no

difference to the movement. A 100,000 people went to prison.

The political awakening in the North West Frontier Province was perhaps the most significant. On April 23 occurred one of the most spectacular incidents in the whole history of 'Satyagraha'. A crowd of pathans faced a troop of English soldiers with bared breasts and allowed themselves to be shot. As one martyr fell another took his place, undaunted. There was no panic, no fleeing. Although nearly a hundred were killed and perhaps twice as many wounded there was not a single instance of a bullet mark on the back.

Harrowing scenes were witnessed at Dharshana in Gujarat, where volunteers trying to raid salt depots were subjected to the most brutal treatment, but received it with calm courage and without retaliation. Reports of beating, bullying and torture at Dharshana were sent to the outside world by Webb Miller of the United Press of America and caused a world sensation. His descriptions, later included in his book "I Found No Peace" still make gripping reading. The movement attracted a large number of British and foreign correspondents to India. The most distinguished of these were Mr. H. N. Brailsford, a life long friend of India and George Slowcombe who played some part in initiating negotiations leading to the Gandhi-Irwin pact.

Bombay had its share of suffering and many "Black Sundays" were witnessed. The most memorable scenes occurred on the Esplanade Maidan on June 19 and 20. Of these Will Durant wrote: "These were

scenes unknown in history since the Coliseum; it was as if the primitive Christians were once again fighting with silent suffering against an oppressive Rome."

The Government was overwhelmed. It surrendered. Lord Irwin signed a pact with Gandhi, who was bundled off to the farce of the Round Table Conference. By the time he returned Lord Willingdon had made elaborate preparations to crush the Congress. Gandhi was once more clapped in jail; and the most ruthless and the most systematic regime of repression yet known was let loose on India. Government shrewdly hit out at property. Lathi and prison had lost their terror. Confiscation of property and huge fines were the order of the day. Among the innumerable ordinances that were issued was one which made parents punishable for the offences of their youthful progeny. Still the nation carried on manfully till the A.I.C.C. at a meeting at Patna in May 1934 decided to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was just at this time that the Congress Socialist Party was born.

But now that there was no doubt the nation would fight again. A people so aroused, so patient and so tenacious, yet capable of so much self-invited and therefore strengthening suffering, would not give in. The play was not over. Non-co-operation was the first Act. Civil Disobedience was the second. There was bound to be a third.

Congress could never be idle. When there was no direct action there was the parliamentary programme. It fought and won the 1937 elections and was able to form Ministries in eight out of eleven



Bandemataram

MOTHER I bow to thee!
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waving, Mother of Might,
Mother free.
Glory of moonlight dreams,
Over thy branches and lordly streams,
Clad in thy blossoming trees,
Mother, giver of ease,
Laughing low and sweet,
Mother, I kiss thy feet,
Speaker sweet and low!
Mother, to thee I bow.



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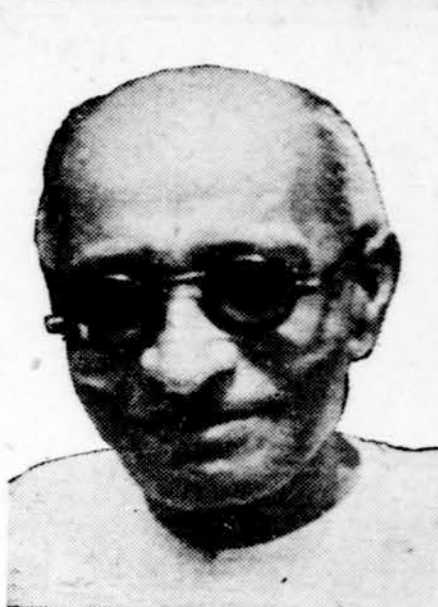
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provinces. The tenure of the Ministries was, however, all too brief. They had been in office only 2 months when World War II arrived

H. E. Jairamdas Daulatram
BiharH. E. Kailasnath Katju
OrissaH. E. C. Rajgopalachari
West BengalH. E. Sarojini Naidu
United ProvincesH. E. Mangaldas Pakwasa
Central ProvincesH. E. Akbar Hydari
AssamH. E. Chandulal Trivedi
East Punjab

SIX GOVERNORS & A "Governess"

MESSAGES

Nagindas T. Master,
"Today will witness an epoch-making event in the history of our country. Today, we open a new and what can be made a unique chapter in the history of mankind."

There are no doubt people who hold an opinion that today is no occasion for rejoicing. That the Congress has been striving for all these many years, has been frustrated. To them, we can say, grieve not for the incompleteness in that India is not indivisible and one, but accept cheerfully what has been achieved and strive for the ideal we had had, and still have, before us. It helps no one to keep on mourning. Let us be heroes in the strife.

"The month of August has its unique significance for us; on the 1st there is Tilak Jayanti; on the 8th, we passed the historic 'Quit India' resolution, and today, the British transfer power and are quitting India."

By Pundit Hridayanath Kunzru
Our flag is flying over our country today and is proudly announcing to the world the birth of a new India.

Even in this hour of rejoicing we cannot but think of those who have been torn away from us and long for reunion with them. Yet the thought that the destiny of 300 millions will in future be in our hands cannot but stir our hearts and imagination and make us resolve to work with redoubled zeal and energy for our national advancement and the enhancement of our international status.

The new era will require a new social and political philosophy, a keener apprehension of the meaning and value of freedom and a more vivid realization of the imperative need for laying our plans for our future development on the basis of social and economic democracy. Our civil and defence service if properly inspired and guided will consider it their duty to shoulder their new responsibilities. Our young men are ready to respond to the call of service but they should regard it as their sacred duty to equip themselves intellectually and morally for the tasks that await them.

Constructive thinking, intellectual integrity and sense of responsibility may be regarded as humdrum virtues but they are essential to our progress and existence. The need for unity of feeling and purpose is as great as it ever was. With harmony among ourselves and goodwill towards our neighbours in whose future we must continue to be interested, we can go forward with the assurance that a glorious future awaits us.

By Vaikunth L. Mehta

Today is a day of rejoicing and for thanks giving. It is so, in the first place, because the nation has achieved the goal it had set before itself of achieving complete freedom from foreign rule.

That is a task to which the leaders of the nation dedicated themselves 62 years ago. Swaraj was the nation's birthright, and the nation has won it back. Not a vestige of foreign rule will remain in this land of ours from the 15th of August onwards.

Secondly, there is cause for rejoicing and thanksgiving inasmuch as the goal of freedom from foreign rule has been reached without the bloodshed and the bitterness which have, in the course of the whole of the world's history, been almost invariably associated with such struggles. Ours has been a struggle unique in the world's history where, what some have described as the moral equivalent of war has succeeded beyond measure. It is not because the nation has reason to be proud of this unique glory that we should rejoice, but because the success of the method of non-violence the nation adopted represents a stage in the evolution of human society which may lead us on to happier times when relations between different countries are governed not by stupidity and hatred but by understanding and love.

Lastly, we rejoice because with freedom from the shackles of foreign domination we shall have all over India, for the first time after centuries of disorder and misrule, the opportunity to build up a society based on good will and justice. This is no light task; but it is a task which India has to assay if it is to make its contribution in the comity of nations. After achieving liberty, we have to establish conditions of fraternity. That done, the establishment of con-

ditions of economic equality will claim all the nation's energies. It is a time of trial and may be of tribulation; but let us rejoice and be grateful, that it has been vouchsafed to us, in the lifetime of our great leader to face that time as free brave men and women.

K. S. Ferodea,
Speaker, Bombay Legislative Assembly

"Fifteenth of August will go down in history as a gold letter day. On and from this day will triumphantly fly the tri-colour National Flag on all Government and public buildings. After a break of about two centuries, India has regained her freedom. On this memorable day, the country pays its homage to all her sons and daughters who, by their services and sacrifices, carried on the freedom struggle for over six decades. Special tribute of gratitude is due to Mahatma Gandhi who, by his weapons of Satyagraha, Truth and Non-violence, led the country to its cherished goal of Independence. The world in ages past has learnt a good deal from India.

"Let India now serve as a beacon light to the world in the establishment of hers, irrespective of caste, creed, religion or party, at this critical juncture, to exert to the utmost to work out this freedom for the benefit of the toiling millions."

A. P. Sabavala,
Mayor Of Bombay

"It is my proud privilege to send greetings to all citizens of Bombay and also to all citizens of India on this memorable occasion of achievement of our cherished goal of freedom."

"I am aware that there is a certain amount of reservation in the joy that should accompany such an occasion and that this reservation is due to the fact that India has been divided. But it must be remembered that this is only the stepping stone. If we develop the will to achieve, we shall certainly advance the cause, namely, rapid development of our country, so that it may be a force for maintenance of world peace."

"We should therefore not fight against each other, but fight together so as to secure for India her legitimate destiny of greatness and glory among the nations of the world. It is in this spirit that I call upon all citizens of Bombay to enter this New Era of what I hope to be and what we can all by joint efforts make, an era of peace and prosperity for India and for the world."

G. D. Vartak,
Minister, Bombay

"August 15 will be written in letters of gold in the history of India, for, on that day, India will enter upon a new phase of her history, freed from the political domination of an imperialist and alien power. Posterity will record our struggle for freedom through non-

violent means as a unique one, for that struggle has ended in the emancipation of a mass of forty crores of human beings which is an event of epoch-making importance in the history of the world.

"But, an achievement is only a prelude to what remains to be achieved. Great and difficult problems lie ahead and to their solution, we have now to bend all our energies. Let every one of us, therefore, take a vow to address himself to that historic task on this auspicious day."

Mrs. Kulsum Sayani.
"Free India must be a literate India."

Nawab Of Chhatari,
Prime Minister, Hyderabad State
"The fifteenth of August 1947 heralding, as it does, the advent of Indian Independence, will go down as a landmark in the annals of our beloved country. On this auspicious occasion, I am happy to join in the general rejoicing in the country with a fervent prayer that the dawn of freedom may usher in a new era of mutual co-operation, peace, prosperity, and goodwill. Our responsibilities are great towards the people of India. May God help us in the discharge of our duties."

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad
"In celebrating Independence Day, we must gratefully remember the great work done by the Indian Press in the achievement of independence. In Bombay, for many years, there was no daily paper owned and run by Indians. The whole field was occupied by Anglo-Indian papers whose angle of vision regarding independence did not coincide with the Indian view. To fill this vacuum, Sir Pherozshah Mehta and his associates founded the 'Bombay Chronicle' as a daily paper in 1913 to voice the Indian view in politics.

"After the passing away of Sir Pherozshah Mehta, the 'Chronicle' went through various vicissitudes. I was for some years Chairman of the Board of Directors and Mr. Jinnah later took my place. The original company went into liquidation and the concern changed hands twice. The 'Bombay Chronicle's' policy, however, in spite of all these changes, remained steadfastly the same in advocating Home Rule for India. That policy has now been crowned with success and ample credit is due to the staff of the 'Chronicle' in maintaining national policy."

"Now that Independence is achieved Indian newspapers will have to play a new and different role. It is not now fighting the foreign rule but seeing that the Home Rule now established is run on really democratic line. It is expected that the 'Chronicle' would not hesitate to criticise the popular Governments whenever their policy is not in accordance with right principles. There are people who think and say that now that popular Governments are in power, they should not be criticised but always supported. This is a fallacious view. Popular Governments with overwhelming majorities in the legislatures are apt quickly to develop Fascist tendencies and it is the duty of the Press to be vigilant and attack and curb such tendencies. I hope the 'Bombay Chronicle' will fulfil this useful role."

Sir Chandulal Trivedi,
Governor Of Orissa

I deem it an honour to be asked to send a message for the supplement to the 'Bombay Chronicle', which is being issued on the 15th August to celebrate the auspicious occasion of the complete transfer of power to Indian hands. This is the biggest event in the history of our country and it is but right that we should rejoice over it, though our rejoicings are tempered by the fact that we have achieved our goal at the sacrifice of the unity of our land.

Now that we have attained independence the thoughts and energies of all our men and women, which were heretofore largely devoted to the struggle for freedom, must be concentrated on the solution of the many urgent problems which confront us. Independence is but a means to an end, and the end in our case is no doubt the promotion, in the shortest possible time and to the greatest extent practicable, of the happiness, prosperity and welfare of

the masses. Discipline and a strong sense of public duty are perhaps our greatest needs and may Providence give us these in ample measure so that all of us will pursue with single-minded devotion the path which will make the Indian dominion a land of peace, tranquillity, plenty and happiness for all her citizens.

THIS SOLEMN HOUR

Doubtless there must be a surge of joyous emotion in our hearts to-day. It is but natural that we should feel that the ideal for which we struggled and laboured so hard through the decades past, is being achieved.

To-day even those who in these years of storm and stress have lost their all; whose dear and near ones have died or been killed; whose women-folk have suffered dishonour;—cannot but have the satisfaction that the object for which so much sacrifice has been made, so much suffering undergone, is being at last attained. It is but right and proper that we should celebrate the day with fitting honour and with enthusiastic zeal.

We have also to remember to-day that the event that is happening before our eyes, is unparalleled in human history. The manner in which we are winning our Swaraj, is one in which no nation has won its freedom at any time in the past. It is essential that to-day we should lay our tribute of affection, of admiration, of gratitude and of praise, at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi, for Swaraj is his gift to us; and it is because of him and the methods he asked us to follow, that comparatively speaking we have got this Swaraj with such little suffering and in such a short time.

Other nations have suffered much in their search for freedom. They have had to face murder and arson on a very large scale. We certainly have not suffered so much. At the same time it is truly a wonderful phenomenon that what other nations have struggled for unrelentingly for centuries, has been attained by us in efforts extending for practically only a quarter of a century. We must bear witness to this phenomenon for all time. We must record it in history. We must ponder over it and take lasting lessons from it for ourselves and our children and our children's children.

Our Characteristics
We should stop here for a moment and try to realise what the reasons can be for the consummation of our hopes in this particular manner. Let us not forget the task of world-mending is un-ending; and if we can understand and appreciate, in the proper perspective, the causes that have led to this situation to-day, we will not

By Shri Prakash
India's High Commissioner For Pakistan

fail to apply the same methods and achieve the same results in our endeavours in the future in varied fields of activity.

One reason is self-evident; and that is that our whole agitational method was non-violent. This accounts for the total absence of that bitterness, that hatred, that is almost an inseparable concomitant of every great conflict. It was our non-violence that actually disarmed even the armed forces arrayed against us, and gave us victory in so short a time and made it possible for so many of us to be privileged to witness both the beginning and the ending of this great struggle. And at a moment like this when, in a way there is a parting of the ways, when our foreign rulers are leaving us, we see the very rare phenomenon of every piece of work being done with rare beauty and dignity. Even at the time of separation, we are witnessing no untoward incidents, no vulgar scenes. We have peace. If there is any vulgarity, if there is any violence, they are due to our own internal difficulties and disagreements; they have nothing to do with the foreigner and ourselves.

That is a great lesson that our struggle gives to the world. Non-violence is that infallible weapon which, when wielded by the really brave and powerful—not by the weak and the coward—can take them, through paths of truth and steadfastness, to the cherished goal with certainty and celerity. Let us not forget that in front of us lie many struggles for the amelioration of our social and political conditions and for the proper evolution of our many institutions. May we remember to use this very weapon—and none else—in all the struggles in the future—internal or international.

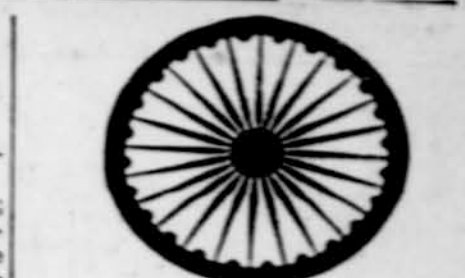
Our Programme
In the midst of the joy and exaltation of the moment, let us not neglect to remember the heavy responsibilities that crowd around us on this great and solemn occasion. Truly it is easier to obtain a thing than to keep it. So long we have held others responsible for any troubles that assailed us; we depended upon others for our education and our training; we left the great task of protecting us entirely to others. We can do no more. From to-day onwards, we cannot blame others for anything that befalls us. We shall have to accept and recognise—whether we like it or not—that we ourselves are

responsible for anything and everything that comes to us.

We shall have to protect ourselves; we shall have to make all arrangements for our own education; we shall have to find out means for our own livelihood. Everyone of us—whether he be small or great—must realise the duty he owes to society and fulfil it to the best of his capacity and ability. We have so to organise ourselves that we must take our proper and fitting part in the development of our State and the consolidation of our people. We must—everyone of us—help in the great task to the fullest extent. We have to realise—and keep this realisation all the time in the inmost recesses of our hearts—that if we fulfil our respective duties properly and fully, then we, in our own persons, are as great patriots as any others can be, and that in the maintenance of our country's freedom, we too are taking as great a part as those who are more on the surface and are well-known to the world.

It is possible that in the bringing in of Swaraj, some particular persons may have had a great share; it is possible that many of us—common men—may have been indifferent to the great struggle; it is also possible that for our individual gains, some of us may have indulged in what are known as anti-social activities. It also possible that some, thinking that it is no harm deceiving a foreign administration, may have done many things that are improper; but to-day we must remember at every step that our country and our society are going to be deeply affected by every single act of ours and that we shall be tested as to whether we are or are not fit for freedom by every action that we do. We have thus to be alert and vigilant all the time.

Importance Of Everyone
If our Swaraj is to be a true Swaraj, the importance and innate greatness of every single individual has to be recognised and appreciated. No individual and no profession can be regarded as contemptible or low. It must be realised by everyone all the time that for the well-being of society, every calling is essential, and that the whole must suffer if at any time any part thereof declines to do its duty. In circumstances such as these, every one of us must have the fullest confidence all the time that



To The Union Of India

By F. J. Karaka

Twice bright thy glory be in years to come
Than ever knew its towering peak before;
Great times thy past has seen, but greater are
In store for thee, dear land; so forge ahead,
With all thy might and main, and strike the path
That leads to peace and plenty in the land
For brother man. Let each one name his fill
And spare beside to make existence sweet
And filled with joy that comes of meek content.

If heart to heart responds in loving strain
And leaves for good all bitterness
The flood-tide of our final victory
Will sweep upon a vast and heaving wave
To India too her share of freedom's boom
And rear a state shall stand the storm and shock
Of adverse circumstance and rue supreme
To all the ills that e'er may come its course
In freedom's train should move free thought, free speech,
And that which was a boon beyond compare
The right to do what each man deemed was good.
Save what undoes the purpose of the State
Or equal rights of any fellow man.

A State which stands upon the people's will
Must spread the light of knowledge far and wide;
Statesmen, open wide these gates of greatness,
No nation rose to heights of power, which left
To chance this first essential of success.

Advance the ancient arts and crafts of Ind,
In them a nation's soul abides and rears;
Well may the Charika move in every hut
And home, it makes for much that people need
And sends delight to Gandhi's inmost heart.

Not these alone will amply serve our cause,
It will not do, as you have done, to drain
The font of industry and clog the wheels
That roll for country's final gain and good.
The lesson of the world's great progress States
Should never be lost on you, but con-
nected with care
To make our land a self-sufficient realm.

And if you wish your State to face and meet
The new and rising trends of world's affairs,
Regard with loving eyes the sister State
Of Pakistan, and look beyond your borders
To make your power felt beyond the seas.
And stand for human rights in other lands.

Our Flag

Beautiful flag of my country,
Recently I wish
Long life and glad prosperity,
Honour in world-fraternity.

Dear flag of my country, wave
Strong and glorious and brave;
Measure of good-will engrave—
Born to succour and to save.

Stand undaunted in thy might
To safeguard thy subjects' right;
Be thy duty and delight
Everywhere for truth to fight.

Union-flag of my country,
Hand on heart, I salute thee;
Hindus or Muslims or others, we,
Under thy rule, all Indians be.

—S. Dastar

Flourishes The Tricolour

Look, the cloud has burst,
And the night is past;
Behind the yonder hills,
The sun is rising fast.
Nature is striding today
Into her beauty-parlour
Above the Himalayan heights
Flourishes The Tricolour.

With beautiful smiling lips,
Eyes so filled with glamour,
Freedom finds her abode
After a spirited clamour,
The eternal home of culture,
Peace, non-violent colour
Is joyous, where unadorned
Flourishes The Tricolour.

Tyranny's grip is over
Let Cromwell climb to day,
Rise, O toilers, rise,
Have faith, 'tis your day.
Chakra of justice to all
Irrespective of creed or colour
Sign of universal brotherhood,
Flourishes The Tricolour.

—B. T. Parmar

THE APPOINTED DAY

By Dr. J. F. Bulsara

My only chagrin about the New Dispensation is that it is not of our making. It has descended upon us as a boon from the British Parliament as its nomenclature, the British Plan of June 3, signifies.

If any further proof of this peculiar turn our destiny has taken were needed then it might be remembered that the two sections into which the country has been partitioned are the Dominions of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Dominions beyond the seas.

India and Pakistan, notwithstanding the protection afforded by the Statute of Westminster, are, thus, part and parcel of a piebald Empire, which still carries on under the significant designation of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Dominion Status, of the Statute of Westminster variety, a Lord Linlithgow, had put it, would have come to us years ago. To those who have followed the Indian political movement from the war of 1914-18 and even earlier, the New Dispensation is but another stage, in the words of Lord Curzon, in the progressive realization of Responsible Government in easy stages. Responsible Government, of any variety with any status, is not Independence. We have to go forward yet awhile before we are able to take our stand among the nations of the world.

WHOLESALE SWALLOWING

I do not suggest that the new arrangement is not better than what existed before but I do suggest that the goal has yet to be reached. It has to be admitted that the master minds in White-hall have had greater and longer experience of Empire building and, more than that, of Empire maintaining, than our politicians and statesmen of the day. So far we have shown no originality in any aspect of the task we have been called upon to undertake. We have accepted British constitutionalism and jurisprudence wholesale and we have taken it for granted that what suited Britishers and their cousins across the seas will suit our conditions and circumstances also.

Therein lie our weakness, our shortsightedness and limitations of political vision. The flotsam and jetsam of the currents of politics, commonly known as leaders, devote

their attention and energies to problems as they exist. Few look beyond their immediate horizons or think out in detail the possible future ramifications of the actions they take. Fewer still seek inspiration from the past to guide them in the present.

Right from the days of Julius Caesar, England has been known among the nations of Europe as "Albion perdue." The non-white races of Asia and Africa have not found a correct label for it unless we give Gandhi's characterization of Albion as satanic, that is, perfidiously raised to the n-th degree, an application wider than India such as would cover the yellow, brown and black races. In matters colonial and imperial, England has set the example which others, on a basis of mutual understanding, have followed to great advantage.

By Abdur Rahman Siddiqui

"Time is the biggest healing factor. The new responsibilities awaiting our leaders will need their full attention and labour. These responsibilities leave no room for bickering and in the proper discharge of them lie peace and redemption."

The disruptive forces let loose, while singing hallelujah to the brotherhood of man and the sisterhood of woman under the self-imposed civilizing mission of the colonial Powers, for which they coined the phrase "White Man's Burden", have wrought more havoc in the two hemispheres than any other scourge in human history. These same forces have engendered every war, every conflagration and every commotion, national and international for at least

three hundred years and more.

AFTERMATH OF WAR

Without going very far back in history, let us cast a glance at the aftermath of the war of 1939-45. The Atlantic Charter was a hoax. The San Francisco one, called the World Charter, is no better for, among other reasons, the provision of the Veto in it is more dangerous than the claim of the Divine Right of the Stuarts which led to the chopping off of the head of King Charles of England. In an organization composed of the proverbial 52 nations, which in their collective wisdom were to outlaw war, the incorporation of a dangerous provision such as the Veto by a single statesman is, to say the least, a bad joke. Let the two Dominions think, and think furiously, as to the reason why

war in North Africa, would not have ended as it did, are still under the military government of the King of England and secret negotiations are going on in the diplomatic corridors of Europe, to give the territory back to its Italian masters, provided Great Britain is allowed to retain its stronghold on Egypt from the west through Libya.

In this game of mutual accommodation and give and take, England must, for its own advantage, support France to hamstring the liberties of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and the vast territories of Senegal, Gambia and almost the whole of the Atlantic coast of West Africa. Little Belgium must still get its rubber from the Congo, many times larger than itself and so should England's ancient ally, Portugal, have its outposts of an empire over many continents and oceans.

The same old policy of grab, the same old rivalries and the same old causes of war have been projected from the pre-war into the post-war period. How they will end is not difficult to conjecture. As and when the new war, that is now hardly in doubt, does get started, the chief belligerents will not hesitate to make use of the man-power of their colonial possessions as also their money and munitions.

We have seen this happen in both the wars. We have also witnessed the humiliating spectacle of Indian soldiers being used in the Abyssinian War, in the Boxer War in China, in the stranglehold of Persia and in many expeditions, against African and Asian peoples and states, to serve imperialist purposes. The spectre of a Russian menace from the north-west of the country has begun to take shape and experts on Empire Defence and Strategy, who have poured untold wealth into the military sinks of Khairbar, Razmak and Quetta, are not idle. The appointment of British Generals and Chiefs-of-Staff, in the new-born Dominions, is not altogether meaningless.

NUMEROUS HANDICAPS

We have no officers beyond the ranks of the newly created Major-Generals in the army; the mechanized sections of our land forces are defective and below our requirements; we have no navy to defend our long coast; and we need many more Air Squadrons to make us feel safe. Above all, we are not in a position to produce our own armament. Financially, too, we are not in a position to purchase what we want and, even if we had the money, it is doubtful if we shall secure the goods in time. The handicaps in our way are many. They are grave and serious. This was not unknown to those who adumbrated the Plan of June 3. They saw farther than our law-ridden politicians to whom the written bond of the Plan became the be-all and end-all of nation-building.

We have made our mistakes. It will serve no useful purpose to dilate upon them. We must, however, face facts and realities and take lesson from the past. Democracy and the division of society into castes are contradictory. Castes and Depressed Classes connote inequality and injustice. We have to adopt new attitudes of mind and develop new angles of vision. The majorities must develop generosity and the minorities a spirit of accommodation and a sense of proportion. These processes will need time but where we have waited so long we can afford to wait a bit longer.

ESCHER CONTROVERSY
We have begun well even before the Appointed Day. Muslim India as well as non-Muslim India has noted with satisfaction the prompt and effective action taken by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in full agreement with his Muslim colleagues in the Interim Government, on Indonesia. The success, India achieved at Lake Success on South African trouble is another instance of the advantages of united action. Pandit Jawaharlal's sympathy for the Arabs of Palestine, in whose case Muslim India is so deeply and directly interested, has touched a responsive chord in the heart of Islam.

There is hardly any question touching the country as a whole on which there is any room for a difference of opinion. The Hindu-Muslim tangle, which retarded our progress, has been solved by the creation of the Pakistan Dominion. It will be to the advantage of the two Dominions to eschew controversy. It will not pay to talk of secession versus partition or to start a movement to undo it. Effort should be made and energy directed towards agreement on matters of common interest, domestic as well as foreign. They are many. Time is the biggest healing factor. The new responsibilities awaiting our leaders will need their full attention and labour. These responsibilities leave no room for bickering and in the proper discharge of them lie peace and redemption.

THE SAME OLD GAME

The delay in settling outstanding problems is also visible in the moves and currents of the policies of the colonial Powers glaringly. Having affixed their signatures to the World Charter of Democracy, which connotes liberty and equality, it is surprising that Great Britain and Egypt are still at loggerheads about the unity of the Nile Valley and the evacuation of the British Army of Occupation from Egypt and the Sudan. More than that, after having proved false to the World Trust, the British Mandatory in Palestine refuses to see the obvious and clear out of the Holy Land. We may grant the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, the Fight to perpetrate injustices against the coloured inhabitants natives, Arabs and Indians, as necessary concomitants of Dominion Status but the pursuit of similar, if not worse policies, in the Crown Colonies of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika is unpardonable.

Colonial Powers scuttled away before the Japanese terror leaving the inhabitants of the territories on whose sweat and toil they had fattened, to fend for themselves but the atom bomb which laid Hiroshima low catapulted the cowardly rulers back into their old positions. They started scratching each other's back and Great Britain, for reasons easily understandable, put the members of the gang back into Indonesia, Indo-China and reoccupied Burma, Malaya, Borneo and Hongkong for itself.

Battle Selassi, was reinstated in Abyssinia, before general hostilities had terminated but the Arabs of Tripoli, without whose assistance the

A MIDST country-wide rejoicings, India enters to-day the community of free nations in her own right. Varying thoughts and emotions will naturally well up in the minds of varied men and women.

Feelings of elation and victory in the minds of those who struggled long and hard to win India's freedom from foreign yoke, thoughts of creative activity in those who feel that the nation's constructive work will really begin from to-day in right earnest; thoughts of sadness and humility in those who feel there is so much to be done before large masses of our countrymen can be brought to the pale of civilised society, to a decent standard of living, to a level of cultural appreciation.

To some it will mean an opportunity for power, to some for profit, to some for positions. To millions of dumb illiterate fellowmen it will actually mean little more than tear, toil and sweat as heretofore, though as Woodrow Wilson declared, true democracy releases the energies of every human being.

From domination to self-determination, from fetters to freedom of forging your own destiny is a step forward, and all human beings who love liberty of the individual and of nations must rejoice at this culmination. With Mahatma Gandhi, even the retiring nation has reason for gratification that transfer of power has been brought about by peaceful means and by an act of willing and voluntary renunciation. In spite of the hackneyed talk of the atom bomb it augurs well for the future of sorely tried humanity.

Right Perspective

With a statesman of the breadth of vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru guiding the affairs of the nation and the long-pervading Indian doctrine of the oneness of humanity, one feels hopeful that India's newly won independence will be viewed in its right perspective of its forming a part of international interdependence, which is being proved to the hilt by the daily arrival in her ports of ships of a primary necessity like food from the four corners of the globe. If, in the

full influence in shaping a better and happier world. They lead to physical deterioration and we persist in dying at the age of 27, i.e., by the time we reach the age of maturity of experience and usefulness to society.

We must have the targets at least of achieving 50% literacy among our school-going population in the next 10 years, raising the standard of living 100% or doubling the income of the worker in real wages in the same period, and the expectancy of life to at least 45 years, i.e., that of Japan to-day within the next 20 years. Only with the raising of the standard of our masses physically, educationally and economically, can we expect to have an enlightened nation to support our fight for a better world and more decent standards of human behaviour in the sphere of international politics and economics. Without them we will be raising a cry in the wilderness, for no nation will take us seriously with rank illiteracy, grovelling poverty, and a discontented, short-lived mob as our supporting sanctions or allies.

Makers Of Our Destiny

We will have to take stock of the fact that hereafter there will be no easy scapegoats available to us to throw the burden of all our ills on. We will be the makers of our destiny. For no nation will take us seriously if we are not responsible for the results of their leadership in steering the ship of state in calm and storm. The cue will be taken from them by the citizens and millions of subordinate officials and employees. Their character, rectitude of behaviour and integrity of purpose will be reflected down to the lowest ranks. It will be their duty and purpose to give a moral lead, to set an example of service of the people, an upright devotion to duty. We will have to combat steadily for a time an opportunist hankering after the power of office for a selfish end, self-aggrandisement or self-glorification.

For, we have to admit that the integrity of our public services in government and civil life and self-seeking in political leadership have never gone so low as now, and the six years of war have left large masses

more they have to lean on crutches and be led by the leaders. Our struggle for freedom has simply proved this. Here lies the danger of too much power centred in the hands of individuals, where the check of public opinion or articulateness is lacking. Very few people can digest power and wield it wisely. The tendency of all power is to go to the head instead of to the heart. Here a wide-awake Press and public can exercise the rightful restraints on the misuse or abuse of power, which is not an uncommon feature in our all but too imperfect work in the field of State.

Where power becomes intolerant of honest difference of opinion or of public criticism, and the danger of intolerance is greater in the kingdom of the illiterates and anophthalmi, it is more likely to rule badly and autocratically than wisely and well. That is why a real though halting democracy is preferable to a downright dictatorship or oligarchy at any time. In other spheres than of power and public administration, we need tolerance and broad-based liberalism in our thoughts and dealings with men and in the field of State.

Bright Future

India has all but rare few leaders of that singleness of purpose to do their duty by the people and the country, and the masses will have to be watchful and vigilant to safeguard their interests in the transitional period, though one has also hopes that the ship of State will ultimately arrive safe into the harbour and India will win her spurs in the Council Halls of nations. Those who are fortunate enough to drink at the fount of knowledge and have the intellectual calibre to see and study these things and the moral fervour to go to the succour of the helpless, submerged, weak and down-trodden must consider it their moral duty to serve this unfortunate section of humanity by fighting their battles.

Ignorant and poverty-stricken India will need for some years to come the help from her more fortunate "nationals" and intelligentsia, who should consider it a privilege to share their fortune and intelligence in the service of their less fortunate brethren. That

On The Threshold Of Self-Realization

of our people, high and low, almost morally bankrupt.

If in the expenditure of public funds, there is only a 25 per cent saving by honesty of dealings and economy through care and watchfulness as of trustees of public money and as loyal and faithful public servants, and if there is an annual expenditure only of Rs. 200 crores on public works and stores, Rs. 75 crores can be saved to the nation for constructive purposes. A poor nation like ours can well afford to save this large sum of public revenue of which government servants should regard themselves as trusted watch-dogs. We may be spending more than Rs. 300 crores on stores and public works on behalf of governments and local authorities in the country.

No Transformation Overnight

In short there is no magic in self-government whereby at the turning of the wand, we can bring about a transformation overnight in the character and virtues of a people. Generally the troubles and tribulations of a people begin, like those of young men and women, when they are thrown into the rough and tumble of life to manage their own affairs. Among many self-governing peoples there are enough corruption and weakness of character, lack of discipline and some day they will ruin their country and their people by their corrupt administration and lack of patriotic uprightness.

The more backward a people, the

seems to be the only way at present to lead the country from its present submerged position to one of true prosperity, power and greatness.

There are, however, gleams of hope for the country, for there is enough intelligence in the sons and daughters of the soil. Indians are forging ahead in science and research, they have the capacity for concentration and sustained and systematic effort, which are required to wrest the secrets of the universe and achieve mastery over nature. They are not altogether poor in public administration or in the conduct of foreign affairs, though their experience in these spheres, we must confess, is limited. They are, however, quick to learn and the opportunities for learning for those who are willing are unlimited. The outer world is sympathetic to India, which is a great asset and which we should assiduously try to cultivate.

India's destiny is not dark, but to make it bright, Indians have to work hard and remain circumspect. They must learn to talk less and do more, now that they are gaining self-confidence, which begins strength. She will require for some time all the patriotic zeal, fervour and devotion of her children to mould her destiny.

Her very patriotism, however, should not be narrow or parochial. It must see itself in the larger mirror of international co-operation and understanding, which is the great need of the world today, and to which a strong, united, prosperous and poised India can make a distinct contribution.

TODAY

We offer Hearty Congratulations to the peoples of INDIA & PAKISTAN for their Triumphant March towards Independence achieved.

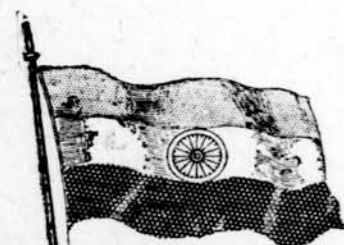
Service to the people is the Motto of the leaders at the helms and so is ours to our esteemed clients. With the best compliments of

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We regret to announce that our Gluko and Monaco biscuits will be out of production until the wheat situation improves. In the meantime please ask for our Barley biscuits.

Lopsided Economy

We have a great leeway to make up. Our primary industry, agriculture, is still primitive for the major portion of the country, though at places scattered individuals and joint stock concerns are also employing the newest methods and machinery in crop and stock raising. India's millions live in villages where the primary activities of a civic or corporate life are lacking. No rays of organised administration have reached them except by way of the Government official extracting the last pie of land revenue from them. Our cities are beehives of inchoate urban existence with numerous slums and masses of rural-minded folk living in them, who have not learnt the art of neighbourly living in a small circumscribed area.

Our villages have in the latter half of the twentieth century hardly known the elementary amenities of urban life. We need to ruralise our cities and urbanise our villages in order to strike a balance in decent and civilised existence. It is a tremendous task and will require far-sighted and deeply thought out planning, without which the Indian socio-economic fabric will remain lopsided for decades generations past.

Our first two systematic fights will have to be against grinding poverty and blinding "illiteracy", and will have to be carried on with somewhat like the tempo and targets of the Russian five-year plans but with improved methods and machinery, combining the zeal of the Russian enthusiast and the balanced thought, wider sympathy and humanity of the British, Swiss and Scandinavian administration. For poverty and ignorance are to-day India's two real enemies greater than the bogeys of Imperialism, Fascism, Pan-Islamism etc. The last three are yet to come, if ever again, but the first two are with us already and are eating into the vitals of the nation and keeping us from exercising our



A sea of human heads at the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress. Note the glew on their faces.

Moral Principles For Political Guidance

In all departments of life during the last one hundred years' activities in India were guided and controlled from London or were based on the British model and by British inspiration.

Everything was done in imitation of what was happening in the United Kingdom. Even good things were done on this basis.

In other words, wherever the Indian conditions differed and some special attention was wanted, the spontaneous impulses of the people to build up such an organization met with a check and discouragement and did not as a rule blossom forth into a successful effort.

Mr. Graham Wallis, a great English writer on psychology, mentioned in his work how foreign rule discouraged the growth of indigenous art as well as indigenous literature, for the simple reason that the rulers and their satellites in the Government House had neither the conception nor the appreciation of these things. The patronage of such literature, art and music, which will grow in future, must necessarily bring about a new age of renaissance in India.

The Communal Canker

All rejoicings on the 15th of August are marred by the thought that there has been (and there continues to be) widespread communal disturbance.

By Manu Subedar

ances in many parts of the country. The leaders of all sections having made appeals for peace, are unable to restrain their followers and out-rages keep on occurring automatically. Those who indulge in these, think that they are doing a meritorious thing in inflicting a vendetta for something, which the other section is supposed to have done.

This condition, like an epidemic disease, will ultimately abate, because people will ask themselves what they are doing it for. The object of communal rioting, wherever it prevails now, is not at all clear. Nor is it difficult for the meanest intelligence to realise that the division of the country has rendered the hands of both sections a lot more powerful than before and the reaction of every act on the part of one side is bound to be serious on the other. For damage to life and property, which is thus shared by all sections, there could be no justification and an interminable campaign of mutual recrimination can lead to no good.

The Britisher has very cleverly diverted attention from himself to the communal issue. He has been in a hurry to get out in order that the responsibility for bigger damage than has already occurred hitherto, may not be on his shoulders. The Britisher has acted very cleverly throughout and has trapped leaders of both sections of the Indian people into the belief, that he is their friend.

It is a pity that one section still, when speaking of the other keeps on using the word 'opponent' or 'enemy'. The responsibilities of actual

administration must necessarily lead to correct thinking in those at the top, which will indicate the real villain of the piece.

Administrative Responsibilities

The responsibilities of administration are not going to be light. Mistakes of a Himalayan character have been made in regard to food and clothing, import and export trade, and currency and inflation. These have brought about in their wake strikes and discontent of labour everywhere. Riots have interfered with production. While in other countries, production has increased, in India production of cloth, steel, cement, jute, sugar and paper has actually diminished since 1945, and the current year will show a further diminution. This is a situation, which affects all people alike in both the Dominions. It wants the highest thought and the highest care. It is not merely a problem for the politician. It is a problem of administration, which, those who are conducting business, can deal with, and I venture to think that others cannot deal with it.

In the matter of finance, very little attention has been paid. England was content to permit things to go into a muddle in India so long as British economy was safe. In regard to the sterling balances extracted from this country in the course of five years, England pleads that she cannot pay in less than sixty-one years! England also pleads her inability to pay in spite of the fact that valuable assets in India and in Asia still remain in her hands.

After all, the Britishers owned the railways and public utilities in India for one hundred years. There is no reason why India should not hold some of the railways, to be public utilities in the United Kingdom, if the full value cannot be returned immediately in the form of commodities.

Democracy Vs. Humanity

The growth of cities have created a spirit of selfishness, an intolerance and of contempt for the village side, but the bulk of the Indian population is still the village population. The whole bias of British rule was against the villagers and all this has to be reversed. The evil has gone on for one hundred and fifty years and the reversal cannot be done in one day, but the foundations of such reversal must be laid early. The claim of the man, who tills the soil, and of the man, who is living in the village, is paramount and this has to be recognized by encouraging production of such things as can be produced, and by giving absolute priority to such production even if it means prohibition of the growth of new factories in some directions and the restriction of the production of certain articles in existing factories.

British democracy consists of a vote once in five years to decide whether "A" will be a member or "B". Indian humanity goes much deeper. The claim of every man, woman and child has to be accepted not merely for bare physical existence, but for a full growth. This great principle is on the lips of everybody in India in the countryside, though generally it is garbed in religious phraseology.

It is on this basis that a new society has to be created. It has to be created free from direction or obstruction from outside. It must be built up by the sons of the soil, who would draw on the great teachings, which the various sages, who had lived in India, have given from time to time.

Either India must build up a society based on full justice and full scope for those who have been nitered to oppressed or suppressed, or it will perish in the attempt of vested interests to continue the same scheme of things, which existed under British rule, with only the Governor and the Ministers turned into Indians. The exclusion of Englishmen from service and from office does not put everything right and a very searching self-examination is indicated in order to build up a great kingdom in India, which would provide a model to other societies, whose population is less amenable to the moral principles and teachings on which the Indian edifice may be based.

At Gandhiji's instance, on December 31, 1929 at midnight the Congress under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the idea of Dominion Status had failed and "Swaraj in the Congress creed shall mean Complete Independence."

Within 18 years of the passing of the resolution and 30 years of incessant work Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, has led the people of India to the gates of liberty. The division of our land has damped the enthusiasm of many patriots but the fact remains that the foreign power will quit India sooner than one expected. The triumph of non-violent revolution will remain as a unique achievement in the annals of the world history. Prof. Einstein's tribute to Gandhiji on his 75th birthday sums up the achievement of the Mahatma, the rebel and prophet.

OUR UNIQUE PRIVILEGE

It is our unique privilege to have among us the Mahatma in flesh and blood. At the age of 78 our frail old Bapu is moving about from place to place preaching the message of non-violence and truth. He knows that what we have achieved is not the India of his dreams. He knows that India's dumb millions do not feel the glow of freedom. To achieve that he will strive till he breathes his last. "The goal is ever in sight but never reached and the joy consists, in the attempt."

At midnight on August 14, 1947, India will unfurl its flag. The scheduled time of the ceremony, it is said, is fixed at the instance of an astrologer. Eighteen cars back no astrologer was consulted nor one came forward to give his advice. It is a curious fact that parasites follow in the wake of prosperity. It is an important occasion, however, to retrospect!

The common man has played an important part in the non-violent revolution. The millions have suffered voluntarily and given their all for India's independence. In the name of the masses the leaders have always spoken and they are expected to work for the betterment of the dumb millions. In Gandhiji's parlance they must act as trustees.

FROM CHARKHA TO CHAKRA

The charkha in the Tricolour stood for the welfare of the masses. It has now been replaced by Asoka's Chakra. Right Aspiration, Right Effort, and Right Livelihood distinguished Emperor Asoka's career. He organized a great digging of wells, and the planting of trees for shade. He founded hospitals and public gardens. He had gardens for the growing of medicinal herbs. He created a ministry for the care of aborigines and subject races. He made a provision for the education of women. He made an attempt to educate his people into a common view of the ends and way of life. He made vast benefactions to the Buddhist teaching Orders, and tried to stimulate them to a better study of their own literature. All over the land he set up long inscriptions rehearsing the teaching of Gautam Buddha.

Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs," observes H. G. Wells, "that crowd the columns of history, their maye ties and graciousness and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone a star."

"The improved condition of the Flag," says Gandhiji, "has value only if it answers the significance attached to the original. If it does not, it is valueless in my estimation." The Tricolour flag was given to the nation by Gandhiji in 1931. Bapu gave us the national flag, the

national language and new ideology. On the eve of independence, however, he seems to have been consulted with regard to the new flag only at later stage. "In my opinion," Gandhiji writes, "nothing would have been lost if our councillors had never thought of interfering with the design of the original flag." The Flag Committee seems to have done everything in hurry.

Though Jawaharlal Nehru has waxed eloquent on the beauty of the flag I for one cannot imagine how beautifully designed three dimensional chakra could be snatched from its appropriate surrounding designs and planted on a narrow rectangular strip of two dimensions. The Committee should have consulted at least an imaginative artist like Nandalal Bose. But our leaders are in the habit of thinking that they know and understand everything.

HINDI OR HINDUSTANI?

With regard to the national language the Language Committee have voted for Hindi as against Hindustani. As regards the script the Committee have recommended the Devanagari script. In this respect prejudice against the Persian script seems to have weighed in favour of the Devanagari. If the members had the unity of India in view they should have also voted for the Devanagari script in place of the provincial

By D. G. Tendulkar

scripts such as Bengali, Gujarati, Tamilite.

The members of the Language Committee have voted for Hindi but how many of them really know the language properly and how many of them will strive to use it as a national language is problematical. It would be not out of place to mention here that Premier Pant made his recent broadcast on the new constitution in English although he could have made a better performance in Hindustani. Our partiality towards English was demonstrated by Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, India's Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., in her farewell broadcast from Delhi. While in Moscow she will harangue in Hindustani. Mr. Munshi, the staunch protagonist of Hindi and Akhand Hindustani, spoke on the National Flag in English. The members of the Constituent Assembly speak mostly in English in preference to Hindustani. What an irony of fate!

If we persist in our prejudices we shall succeed only in building a new wall between India and Pakistan. Under "Hindi vs. Hindustani" Gandhiji writes: "The threat has been postponed for two months or until such time as the Constituent Assembly meets again. It is a wise postponement which gives time for passions to cool down in order to allow clear thinking. Let the Hindus, by their conduct, disprove the Muslim League statement that we, the Hindus and the Muslims of India, are not one nation but two and that too because of our respective religions. Congressmen have declared from the very inception of the Congress that India is one nation composed of men belonging to all religions and sects known in the world and it has proved the claim often enough at crucial moments in spite of many lapses which it would be easy to find in its face."

TOWARDS POWER POLITICS?

At this critical hour in our history the words of Mahatma Gandhi are worth remembering on every occasion before we say or do anything of vital importance. "The Congress has been national from its birth in 1935. It has never represented all parties

Gandhiji on the trek in Nookhali last year. He is going there again to redeem his pledge to the people.

and all Indians. Of course, it is open to this great national organization any day to commit suicide by becoming a party machine. The calamity may overtake it if God's wrath descends upon it. Nevertheless, many will be praying that such a misfortune may never befall it. Is it possible that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's taunt, that the Congress is national only in name but essentially Hindu in action, will ever prove true?"

The Congress has to live up to its great traditions. But the new tendency seems to be towards power politics. The Congressmen believe in capturing municipalities, legislatures and what not. "One party and one leader" is the slogan of some Congressmen. They capture offices not to serve the people but to achieve their own ends.

Corruption, nepotism and mismanagement are rampant. Black-marketing is ever on the increase. We fulminated against the British for every wrong they did. We promised to bring heaven on earth. But today we beg for food from other countries. We have not enough cloth to hide our nakedness. There is no place for the millions to rest their tired limbs. All through the year people lie on pavements in the cities. In the villages the people have no roofs on their heads.

On August 15, 1947 the new era dawns. But are we prepared to greet it with a new resolve worthy of the occasion? The official celebration programme is not at all inspiring. It was an occasion for launching a plan of growing more food, adult education, water works and so on. But instead we shall be having feasts and holidays gunsalutes and military parades. We shall hoist a flag without knowing our national anthem. That is how we plan.

OCCASION FOR RETROSPECT

The day of celebration must be made an occasion of 'honest retrospect. In knowing our weaknesses lies our strength. India has vast resources in men and material. It lies in our power to put our hands and heads together and raise India to the highest place she deserves and she once occupied. To achieve this we all must strive. In Gandhiji we have a unique leader in war and peace. Let us remember his inspiring words on this eventful occasion and work for India of his dreams:

"I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we shall have the smallest army imaginable. This is the India of my dreams."

(Continued From Col. 7)

In the last, the old sodden system is bound to fall and crumble. Partition is a curse and calamity and not the masses are disillusioned, both in Hindustan and Pakistan, as has any solution. Solid propaganda and preparations for future, is the only thing possible if the masses seize all opportunity scientifically and snatch them selves in positions. British imperialism is slaying the fruits of our hard won victory with Indian bourgeoisie and feudalism of Pakistan and Hindustan. Let us prepare to deprive all the three of their ill-gotten fruits.

Victory to Masses.

Near And Distant Repercussions Of Partition

British imperialists who came to India as traders some centuries back found that India was rent with internal strife and that the Feudal system had out-grown its age. Hence they attacked it by forming alliances with the warring native princes.

The converging operations started at three points. In the south they broke the power of Tippu Sultan and Hyder Ali by allying with the Nizams and the Maharattas, in the west they allied with the Maharattas against the chieftains of Khandesh and in the far east they broke the resistance of Sirajuddaulah with the aid of the rising commercial class of Bengal.

Bengal gave the British imperialist traitors in the form of a merchant Omichand and a general Mir Jaffer, which names have become synonymous with treachery. But this is too remote to come within the purview of this small article. Ever since the great Battle of Plassey we can sum up the situation in a few sentences and that is British imperialism consolidated and enriched itself, some times sharing the booty by giving small crumbs, quite insignificant, to the indigenous bourgeoisie and landed free-booters.

But India never settled down peacefully under the British heels. It raised its head whenever the opportunities presented themselves. The first attempt was in 1857. It came to an unsuccessful termination simply because firstly the ill-equipped of the national forces in the modern armies of the period, and secondly it was the treachery of different sections of the people themselves who, preferring slavery to freedom fought for British imperialism. A slave when freed often feels miserable and restless. Indians of the period had also developed that sense.

IMPERIALISM RETREATS. Indian urge for freedom never died. Dormant but active. Some times over-ground and some times underground the struggle went on. First time after the struggle of 1857 the life pulsated in the dormant body over the Partition of Bengal. The country-wide agitation and propaganda against the partition of Bengal awakened the country. This awakening mad, British imperialism retreat and desist from that particular design of Partition of Bengal. The second such surrender on the part of foreign imperialists was the granting of the Reforms of 1919, which though inadequate, severed some moderate elements from the national front of the fighters. They agitated no longer after that against British imperialism. Their ambitions were satisfied. This sort of betrayal by a moderate wing has all through occurred in the history of India's fight for freedom recent events also clearly show it.

But the movement of 1920 did not stop, it carried on all exhausted and betrayed, it ran underground. It raised its head again in 1927 and culminated in many a revolutionary activities and wrested from British imperialism's unwilling hands the Act of 1935. The moderate wing of the nation rushed to ministry-making. The Indian bourgeoisie created some Socialist darlings at this period and helped in the formation of a moderate socialist group, otherwise a harmless organization. Communism and Socialism having been banned after the Moscow and Lahore Con-

gresses, all the elements belonging to those ideologies hurried to this harmless organization and found to their utter dismay that it was all a fraud. These disappointed came out of that organisation as soon as there was any possibility of legal existence, and began preparations for the final blow to British imperialism at time of the approaching World War II.

British imperialism locked them all in safely with the connivance of the Indian Bourgeoisie, as soon as the War started. But whilst it could not by any means stem the rising tide of the Indian movement of freedom, which beginning from 1930 came to a high pitch in 1942 and had no parallel in the early months of '46 when the Fleet—entire Fleet—revolted. This upset the projects of the mighty British imperialism, which found that India was no worthy place for investment of its finance capital or healthy ground to supply with services to its children.

DEFEAT OF IMPERIALISM

British Raj is neither the prestige raj nor the Raj of hegemony. It is the rule of solid, peace, material, granite-like Finance Capital. Finance Capital requires plenty of peace for

By Shaukat Usmani

its development. What it acquires by war consolidates by peace. India had become a furnace for foreign capital since the days of 1857. Some times open, some times secret, the struggle was ceaseless and it brought down British imperialism to a stage in 1946 that it should realise that India was no more a safe place for investments or for finding jobs for British darlings. Hence the general retreat began. Viciousness imperialism, before giving out the full slogan of national division and rampant divisions after divisions in India so that at least some foot-hold or other for using the same as a spring-board of operations be retained.

It created and intensified Hindu-Muslim trouble, which had not assumed any vital noticeable form at all during the struggle against British imperialism. On the contrary and to the chagrin of many moderate Congressmen, the Hindus and Muslim R.I.N. fought side by side, and so did the entire people during 1942 movement. Shrewd British imperialism has now divided the country into two: Hindustan and Pakistan, and in each of them has tried to keep hold through agreements, alliances and pacts. It is simple English it is nibbling India of the fruits of her hard won victory of 1939-47 period or a other words: was during the three phases of Indian Struggle—1906 to 1920, 1929 to 1934 and from 1935 to 1946. The Indian bourgeoisie is aiding it by saying a junior partner of that doddy British imperialism's indirect act of exploitation of the large reservoirs of Indian raw materials and masses. The betrayal is complete at Delhi.

After the experience of the Russian Revolution they have made all efforts in checking and making impossible Social Revolution and they have succeeded so far throughout the whole world. But how long can

(Continued In Col. 8)

REGIONAL SELLING AGENTS

For the following areas, are required for the Shikhar Central Oil Products of the Government Oil Factory, Calicut, South India. Applicants should be firms of repute, and will furnish details of business standing, lines handled, area of operations, as also bank references. Applications should reach the undersigned not later than 31st August 1947.

Sd. P. M. KURUP.
Business Manager,
Government Oil Factory,
CALICUT.

*North Western Frontier, East Punjab, West Punjab, Central Provinces, Berar, Rajputana, Sind, Baluchistan, North Indian States.

TASKS BEFORE INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Two important decisions—almost earth-shaking in their implications to the political fabric of the world—were taken last June.

Firstly the British Government decided to liquidate the British Empire, which according to a great historian came to be established in a fit of absent-mindedness, by a deliberate act of statesmanship; and secondly, the Indian National Congress surrendered its long-cherished ideal of a united independent India by agreeing to the partition into two independent Sovereign States.

These decisions are irrevocable and must now be accepted as settled facts, however regrettable and unpleasant the partition of India means to many in this country. Today, therefore, it would be neither wise nor profitable to recount the numberless sins of omission and commission of the British administration in India which delayed the ultimately inevitable decision; equally unhelpful it would be to list the countless errors of policy and strategy on the part of the Congress which antagonised the Muslims and drove them into the intransigent attitude of not being satisfied with anything short of partitioning the country.

TASK BEFORE PAKISTAN

Whilst congratulating Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League on their achievement of the desired goal and wishing them the best of luck and success in their new venture, I have no doubt in my mind that our friends in Pakistan will soon realise the immensity of the task of establishing and successfully running a complicated apparatus that a modern civilised Government is. The available

By A. D. Shroff

data of the economic and financial resources of Pakistan in relation to their very large needs do not indicate either a comfortable or easily manageable proposition.

I trust, however, that the sponsors of Pakistan fully understand the inter-dependence of the two new States in many more directions than most people on either side appreciate today. Enormously difficult as the problems are that Pakistan will be confronted with, it appears that right and correct solutions will be facilitated by a friendly and co-operative approach to their next-door neighbour.

So far as we in India are concerned, although we start with the initial advantage of a ready-made governmental mechanism in the hands of a number of senior and experienced officials, the task before us is equally great and difficult. Rejoice, therefore, as we must on this day of attaining complete political freedom, we must also subject ourselves to a close self-inspection. Political freedom would mean precious little to the masses of this country if this new-won freedom is not utilised for giving millions in this country a better standard of living.

CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT NECESSARY

There is a vast and limitless field for constructive effort in every branch of human life with the objective of changing in course of time the entire face of things in this country, and if this task is to be properly undertaken with certainty of success, let us take a dispassionate realistic stock of the present situation, and particularly take note of our present failings and weaknesses. It would be fatal self-complacency on our part to believe that compared to the poverty and backwardness of Pakistan, we are better off in man-power, resources and experience.

The hopes and expectations so sedulously created and sustained that once we win our political freedom, this country will flow with milk and honey, cannot be allowed to be frustrated much

longer. How are these hopes then to be fulfilled?

It is perhaps most unfortunate that having been long accustomed to be in opposition and to be critical of everything done by Government so far, most of our people—and some of our leaders are no exception—have not yet grown out of that mentality and do not fully appreciate the imperative call for constructive and responsible work. The complexity and wide variety of problems before the country call for the mobilisation of the best available talent. It appears to be found difficult to reconcile this need with the claims of a number of people who expect, if not demand, recognition of their contribution to the prolonged political struggle carried on by the Congress, and which has ultimately succeeded in gaining freedom for the country.

RIGHT MEN FOR RIGHT PLACES

If ever, however, the country needed a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-denial it is now and in the coming future, and I must congratulate the Congress High Command on their including in the new Government men of ability and capacity like Sir Shammukham Chetty and Dr. Ambedkar, though they do not belong to the Congress Party.

Let us not forget the homely truth that shoemakers cannot do the job of watchmakers, nor can watchmakers make successful cobblers. I only wish that instead of packing some of our Provincial Ministries with miscellaneous mediocrities, right men for right places would be selected to fill the Ministerial Offices in all the Provinces, as Provincial Ministries will be the effective instruments for carrying out a large number of the nation-building activities of the country.

In recent years there has been a noticeable deterioration in the standard of morals in practically every section of the community, including Government service. The continued existence of Black Markets, profiteering and hoarding in respect of foodstuffs, the large-scale evasion of taxes, the numerous cases in which bribes are given and accepted by Government officials, the scandalous puggie system, which accentuates housing shortage, constitute a very serious menace to the economic well-being of the country.

FIRST JOB

Governments which derive their mandates from the people and rest on popular support should now make it their first business to ruthlessly suppress these anti-social activities involving heartless persecution of the poorer classes of the population. Unless Government peremptorily remove this bane which is pervading all aspects of life here, the entire fabric is threatened to be undermined. Character and integrity should be the firm foundations on which the political freedom of our country should be well and truly planted.

The public of this country also have to play their own part. No democratic Government has ever succeeded or is likely to succeed in future without full and ungrudging co-operation from the public. In order, however, to evoke ready, unstinted and understanding co-operation from the public, Governments, both Central and Provincial, should take the public into their confidence and not allow them to be deluded by false hopes.

If this country is to attain its high destiny at the earliest possible date, the public must be warned and educated to be reconciled to a certain amount of hardship and denial during the period when intensified constructive effort on an all-India basis is being made to bring about better conditions of life in the country. Let us start on this venture with faith and determination and courage to overcome the numerous difficulties that lie in our path.



THE CALL IS

'ACTION'!

Today we lay the foundation stone on which future generations will continue to build the edifice of our Indian independence; today we proudly acclaim the flying of our national flag; today we accept joyfully responsibilities which from now on will be ours, and ours alone.

Those responsibilities are great but they are the fulfilment of our own wishes, and while they bring with them rights we may not escape. Such duties may change rapidly. The age in which we live is one of speed, a speed which not only draws us closer together but involves us in complications of a national and international nature to former generations.

We who live in this 20th century see more in a few days than the folk of older times saw in their whole lives. Our own lives are thus projected, as it were, on a fast moving screen whose sound-track records the rhythm of our progress while forcing our minds and bodies to respond promptly and actively to the throbbing tempo of the times. To be useful citizens today we have to think fast and act quickly.

LIKE WEDDING DAY

This fifteenth of August which we are celebrating is not the end of our plans and hopes: it is their beginning, an event which in the life of an individual may be compared to his wedding day. Henceforward life begins anew, the same life but one for which new vistas are opened out, bringing new hopes for a fuller happiness, a greater prosperity.

If these be dreams they are creative dreams, and it is in dreams that man's greatest achievements are born; but they can come of age only in the kingdoms of constructive thought and labour—never in any dreamland fantasy. A future that is merely pictured hazily on the sands of contemplation will disintegrate, before the incoming tide of events, into those same sand particles which cannot support it. Built upon the rock solidity of hard work intelligently planned its edifice will prevail as a monument in time.

From our forefathers we have inherited much, but with that we cannot rest content. With our own hands we must shape our destiny, gaining the more through what we already have; nor failing to make intelligent use of all the knowledge and culture which others elsewhere can offer us, discarding the spurious but retaining the genuine and good to fuse in our Indian melting-pot into a melle of such toughness that will endure.

We do not need to forsake the past in order to plan and work for the

future; nor in using all modern methods and implements do we need to jettison that which, though ancient, is good. Wisdom is certainly not new, and of that we shall need a great deal in the carving of our future, and to hold our place among the nations of the world. In our own beloved country, in cities and villages, much remains to be done that will call for a constant stock-taking of all resources—material, physical, cultural.

What is not in us cannot come out of us. Man was not born to grow like a mushroom, or to rot in that same soil leaving at last no trace of his ideals and labour.

TO WORK

What house or place can be fit to live in if men do not work to maintain their good condition, to renew and to improve them? When entering a house one knows at once what

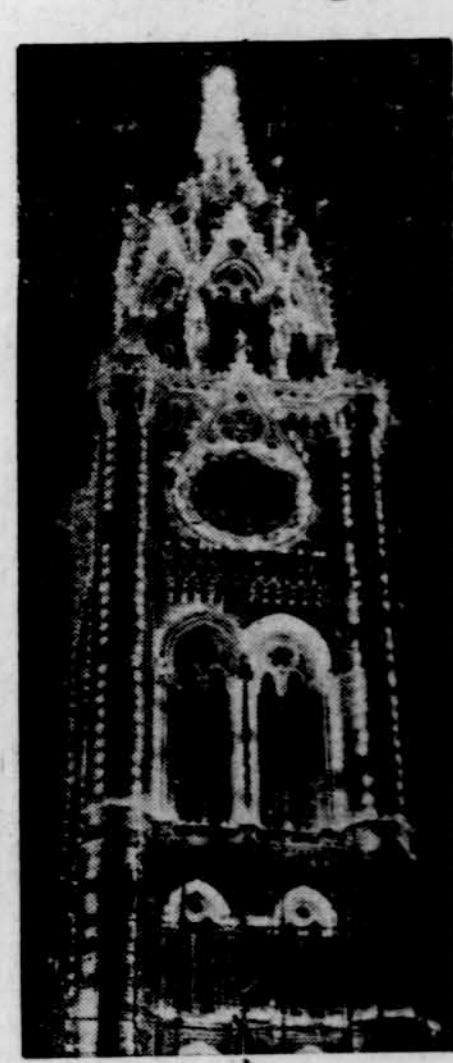
By Sir Mirza Ismail

kind of a man is the master; and if it be a town, one knows the quality of its administration. Where buildings and walls are tumbled down; where loose stones protrude uselessly and dangerously; where refuse and excrement fill the ditches or lie beside the roads; where farmers exploit the soil without thought for tomorrow—in such places can one judge the quality of the people who inhabit them.

There, need and oppression will grow until sorrow and rage shall seize the minds of men. Then will be felt the bitter loss of hopes betrayed, of life without honesty and work, and finally without bread. The peaceful armour of crafts and agriculture will be turned to hostile weapons that will drip with blood, and happy good-neighbourliness vanish in a frenzy of cowardly and malicious rage. May India never see herself in that condition.

Let us then go to work in the towns

Freedom's Lights



Bombay the Beautiful illumines herself to welcome freedom. Left, Gateway of India. Centre, Rajabai Tower. Right, Victoria Terminus.

CONTROLS:



Should They Be Mended Or Ended?

WHILE the 15th of August is a landmark in the political history of the country inasmuch as foreign domination will cease, the celebrations connected with the same are not without a dark lining.

In spite of the fact that the war came to an end two years ago, the prevailing scarcity of essential articles such as food and cloth and the continuation and aggravation of high prices of ordinary articles have created widespread discontent among all classes of people, except the few rich who do not feel the pinch so severely. As soon as the two Dominion Governments settle down to the new responsibilities that they have assumed, their first task should be to concentrate all their energies on bringing order out of the economic chaos in which the country has been plunged.

In addition to the economic dislocation caused by the war on consequent inflation, we have the further dislocation caused by riots in different parts of the country during recent times as well as strikes and other forms of labour unrest. The layman fails to understand why such essential articles like food and cloth should not be available to him at reasonable cost; why in fact they are becoming more and more scarce every day and therefore more and more costly.

Justification Of Controls

The justification for economic controls and rationing with reference to essential articles is their relative scarcity, and the consequent need to organise equitable distribution of the same. If the people of the country are convinced of the fact that certain essential goods are relatively scarce, and if they are persuaded to appreciate the fact that it would be in their general interest to organise equitable distribution by a system of rationing, they may be induced to co-operate in carrying out such a scheme.

The successful execution of schemes of rationing under such conditions depends on the integrity and efficiency of officers and other staff employed to carry out the same, as well as on the conscious co-operation of the people for whose benefit such control is instituted. If this essential condition for the success of such controls is not fulfilled, the very object of controls will be defeated, and the effort at equitable distribution of scarce goods may result in maldistribution of such goods at the cost of the taxpayer.

The discontent among the people under such a situation would be much greater than the discontent caused by the scarcity of such goods even though distributed through the ordinary channels of free market. In other words, interference with the ordinary operation of economic arrangements may prove to be a remedy worse than the disease. If such steps are accompanied by inefficiency, corruption, want of co-operation and so on.

Evasion Of Controls

It is well-known that when economic controls were instituted by the British Government during the war in this country, there was an absence of co-operation from the people with the control machinery on political grounds. If some co-operation existed here, and there, it was more an excep-

tion, an integral transformation of consciousness should precede the physical, material and industrial revolution. Agriculture and industry should be mobilized not for the profit of a few, but for the plenty of all.

If we go forward in this spirit, stout of heart, clear of vision and with an abiding faith in Providence, all will be well with us. We shall recreate the splendour that was India, and this Mother of Mankind will gather the children of God under her spacious Banner of Love, Life and Liberty, and teach them the old but ever new gospel, the Sanatana Dharma, bathed in the refulgent light of a Himalayan dawn.

Let us therefore greet the fifteenth of August with fortitude and humility, courage and wisdom born of a prayerful dedication to a Sublime Cause worthy of the best in us. Let our very discontent with the present spur us on to a nobler endeavour, to a happier and a more glorious future.

tion than the rule. The political situation was exploited by the unscrupulous in order to obtain undesirable gains for themselves at the cost of the community.

As such practices were wrongly identified to some extent with patriotism, because they were calculated to create difficulties for the British Government, they became so rampant that it was not considered immoral to practice the same.

With this habit generated during the war period under the above circumstances, the Control Departments of the Government, though now under the supervision of the popular ministries, are not able to obtain the necessary co-operation from the people, nor are they themselves free from the charges of corruption and inefficiency.

Commodity Prices Board In spite of the existence of this evil, the Commodity Prices Board is known to have recommended recently not only the continuation but a further tightening of the controls, some of the essential articles which are known to be scarce. The theoretical justification for the recommendation of this course by the Board need not be disputed, but the economic dilemma which is presented to those who have to execute this policy is obvious.

On the one hand, certain essential goods are scarce and are likely to continue to be so for some time. Their equitable distribution by a policy of controls and rationing is desirable. The people are too tired of such controls and have lost faith in their end.

By Prof. C. N. Vakil

case. A good percentage of the people continue to practice methods by which the controls are defeated in their operation. Some of the officers and staff of the Control Departments are believed to be either inefficient or corrupt and, in any case, not in a position to inspire confidence.

The leaders of the country who are now in charge of affairs should take courage in both hands and face this dilemma squarely. Radical diseases of this sort require radical remedies. In a matter of this nature unless the people of the country are of the same mind with those in authority, the results are not likely to be satisfactory.

Production Drive

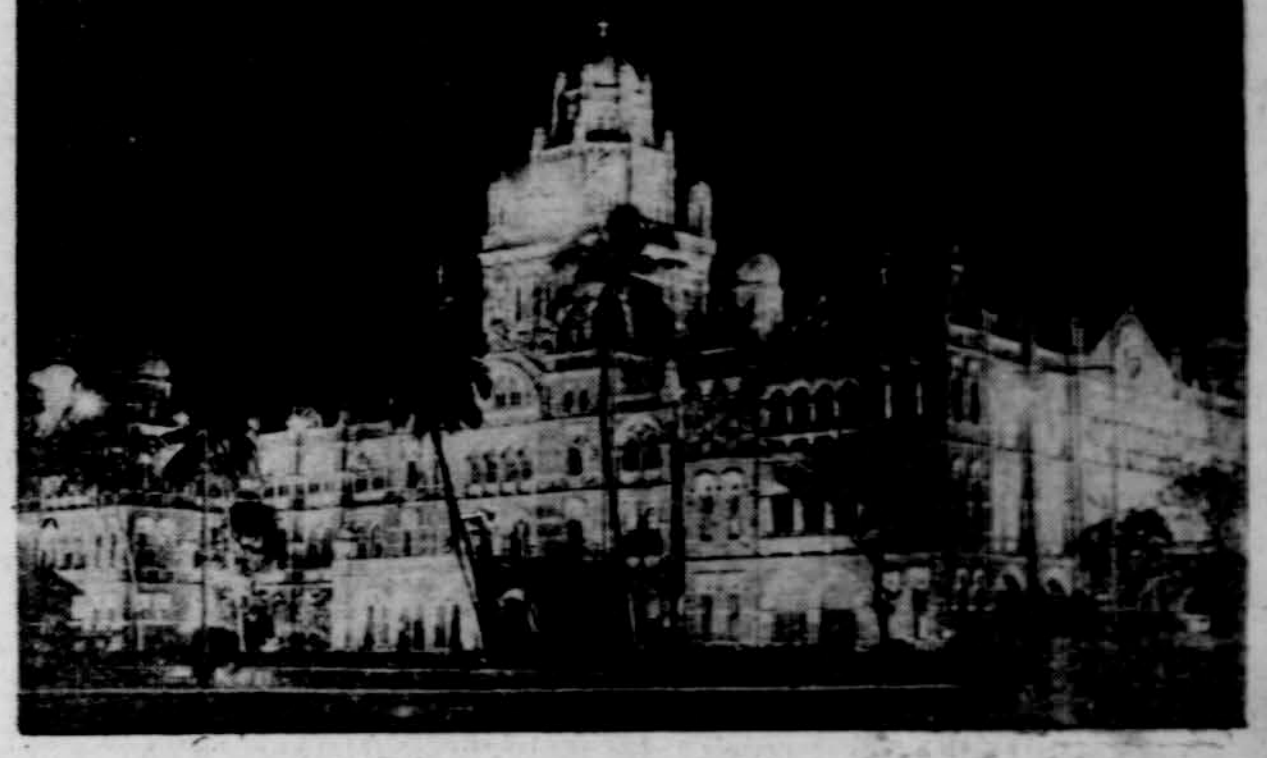
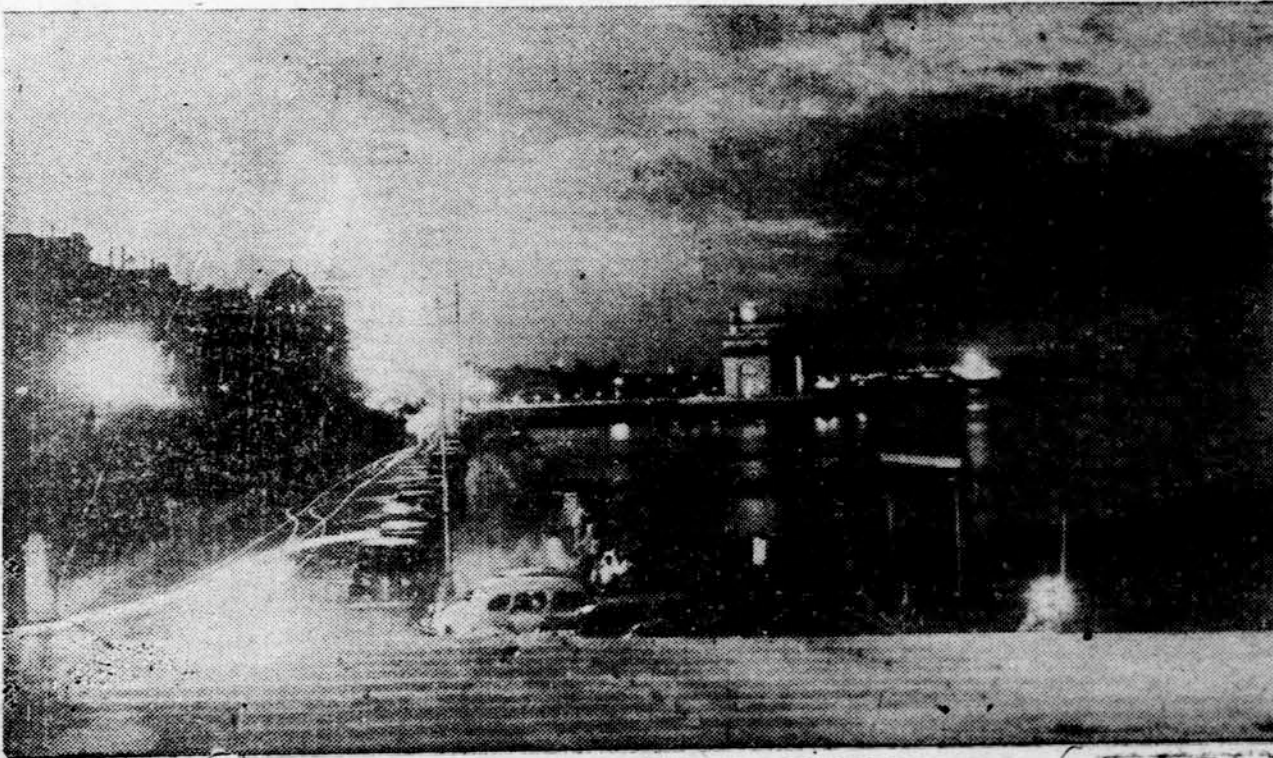
The steps that seem to be called for urgently may be thus summarised. A nationwide drive for intensifying production of essential goods by all available means should be undertaken. Only those who can devote their entire energies, without any distraction, to this task should be put in charge of the job. The work is so important and urgent and so heavy that it requires the undivided attention of capable persons in whom the people have confidence.

In other words, the method usually employed by some eminent men of trying to do several things at the same time must be abandoned in the interests of efficiency, in a matter of this vital importance.

When once this is done, Government should be prepared to abolish all controls altogether within a period of six months. There will be some temporary adverse effects on some classes of people; and adjustment will take a little time.

The ordinary channels of trade, if they are allowed to have full scope accompanied by an increase in production of essential articles are bound to run smoothly.

It is possible that a few extreme cases of hardship may arise requiring assistance, and it would be wiser to deal with such cases by direct subsidy or some kind of direct assistance. The cost of doing so need not be greater than the cost of running the existing, inefficient Control Departments and the benefits would go to the parties concerned direct. They should be accompanied by financial measures to keep prices within reasonable limits, to lower them if possible to some extent. This point has been recently stressed by Sir C. D. Deshmukh in his address at the Annual Meeting of the Reserve Bank of India.



Legal Reform In India

It is proposed in this article to make a few brief observations regarding legal reform in India. The subject is so vast and intricate that anything like an exhaustive examination would involve a great deal of study and research and would require, not a paper, but a large treatise.

The main object of these remarks, however, is to draw attention to some salient points as they strike a man whose working life for about three decades has been equally divided between the teaching and the practice of law.

The reforms which are proposed may be divided into (a) Major Reforms and (b) Minor Reforms.

As to (a) I propose

1. That Hindu and Muhammadan Laws should be codified;
2. That *permissive* Laws of Marriage and Succession should be introduced; and
3. That a permanent Law Reforms Commission should be appointed.

As to (b) I propose

1. That the introduction of Hindustani as the Court language should be gradual, and should take not less than 10 years;
2. That the teaching of law should be reformed;
3. That the study of International Law and Constitutional Law should be encouraged; and
4. That a Society for the study of Criminology as a science should be established, preferably on an all-India basis.

A. MAJOR REFORMS

(1) Codification of Personal Law.

The two most important systems of personal law in India are the *dharma* (Hindu Law) and the *shari'a* (Muhammadan Law). Although differing greatly in their applications and in some of their policies and principles, there still remain some fundamental points of agreement and resemblance, which must be noted. Both derive their origin from the deity; both are, in the last analysis, based on an ethical doctrine which does not consider material good as the final object of obedience to law; both systems originated in hoary antiquity, the Hindu system, being much the older one, going back to thousands of years; both originated and developed in an age differing widely from ours in economic conditions and cultural and ethical standards. Hence it is hardly surprising that the rules ultimately derived do not always satisfy the hopes and the ideals of the man in the street, or paraphrasing the language of Bowen L. J., of "the man on the Queen's Road omnibus."

Now one material difference is that while Muhammadan Law is to be found in about a dozen countries, from North Africa to Java, Hindu Law is confined to the sub-Continent of India. The example of Muhammadan Law is, therefore, the more suggestive and, it will be found that in at least four countries, the Muhammadan Law is codified—and there is nothing to suggest that the results are unsatisfactory—Egypt, Turkey (of the Sultans), Palestine, and Iran. The first three belong to the Sunnite school, while the Iranian codes are based on the Ithna Ashari Shiite school of law.

As the law has been successfully codified in these countries, there can be no serious objection to codification in India. And if codification be undertaken, a certain amount of integration and co-ordination can also be attempted. Why should it be necessary at the present time to delve into the ancient past for each point of law, and why should reference to a simple code be eschewed? As in Egypt, once it is admitted or proved that a man is a Muslim, the minutiae of his own school are not enquired into, each person is not guaranteed his own peculiar school or sub-school, but a broad proposition drawn from some principles of Muslim law, not necessarily that of his own school, is applied, and this conduces both to simplicity and to homogeneity.

VERY STRONG CASE

The case for the codification of Muhammadan Law is very strong, and we hope that Mr. Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan, will seriously consider this question. It is interesting to observe in this connection that Dar-ul-Musannifin, that ancient school of research at Azam-gadh, popularly called the Shibli Academy, is planning a new and comprehensive work in Urdu dealing with the whole of the *shari'a*.

If that is the position with regard to Muhammadan Law, *a fortiori* the case for the codification of Hindu Law is even stronger. Hindu society is broken up into numerous castes and sub-castes, and if I understand it correctly, even minute subdivisions of a sub-caste, and in view of the recent attempts at reforms in Hindu Law, a further step in the same direction is clearly indicated. Surely something much simpler, should be

available to the average citizen of Hindustan than an interminable discussion of the texts of Yajnavalkya, and Mayookha and Narada and so forth. These can be conveniently left to the *Shastris* and the *mahamahopadhyayas*. Here again the forces of reaction must be strongly dealt with and a progressive attitude attempted.

(2) *Permissive Personal Laws.*

The second reform I would advocate is the adoption of codes of marriage and succession on a permissive basis. Suppose an Indian Muslim lady wishes to marry a Christian European. Under the ordinary law she cannot; but if there were a permissive Civil Code of marriage, she could, without *abjuring Islam*, still marry the man. The illogical position may be stated as follows: In India if you wish to marry any one prohibited by the religious law, you must go out of that faith. You must make a declaration under the Special Marriage Act that you are not a Muslim—substantially

provide for civil marriage, irrespective of religious considerations, it should be entirely permissive in character; a person may or may not take advantage of its provisions. If he does not, he continues to be governed by his own personal law; if he does, he remains within the faith, but his marriage is governed by another set of rules.

The marriage code should be followed by a Code of Succession. The Succession Act itself with suitable modifications could serve the purpose. If a Khoja by retaining Hindu Law for centuries does not cease to be a Muslim, why should a man, by adopting a different mode of succession lose his faith? In all these extreme positions, it is often forgotten that the Koran itself makes a clear distinction between verses which are *basic* and those that are not (Koran, 3, 5 and see Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *Tarjumanul-Qur'an*, i. 281 for a full explanation).

(3) *Law Reforms Commission.*

And finally, a permanent Law

By
A. A. A. Fyzee
Member, Public Service Commission, Bombay

a false declaration. The *Shari'a* says that such a union is sinful, but the law compels her to take an even more sinful course, namely, to become a renegade.

Is this necessary in the modern world? Ameer Ali and others have shown that the marriage laws of Islam were based on political considerations. In countries like Modern Turkey, they are given up almost entirely. Is it not better to remain a good Muslim, simple, prayerful, full of that fraternal feeling for which Islam stands, devoted to things of beauty, retaining the faith of one's forefathers,—and yet sinful, if you like, in one respect, namely, a heterodox marriage. Instead of this, you compel a man or a woman in love either to silence the promptings of a throbbing heart, or to abjure the faith of his forefathers. Where is the wisdom, and where the glory of the ancient faith in this course? How does this rule stand in comparison with the modern rule of marriage all over the world?

A simple code of Marriage and Divorce should be passed; it should

Reforms Commission. The Commission should be charged with the duty of studying any law which they think fit, of making the necessary researches, and of suggesting to Government the nature and extent of the reforms proposed by them. The Commission should consist of three or four persons of eminence in the profession of law or retired High Court Judges or distinguished scholars of law. They should be paid respectably; they should be provided with an office establishment. Their main work would be to create work for themselves; to meet and make a plan and carry out their researches and study in a coordinate manner. Government may also have the power to refer certain important questions to them. In this manner Government will have the continuous help of an experienced body, and the searchlight of criticism will be cast on all the weak parts of our legal system.

Whenever a question of reform is discussed, we fall back upon our own experience in India or the rules in England. This is surely inadequate

for our needs in the modern world: the Commission should be instructed of necessity to study at least the following foreign systems before making recommendations, viz. Russian, American and two or three Continental, such as French, Italian and Norwegian.

Having dealt with the three main reforms urgently needed in India, it is now proposed to deal with four other matters. Important as they are, it is impossible to suggest that they have priority over the first three.

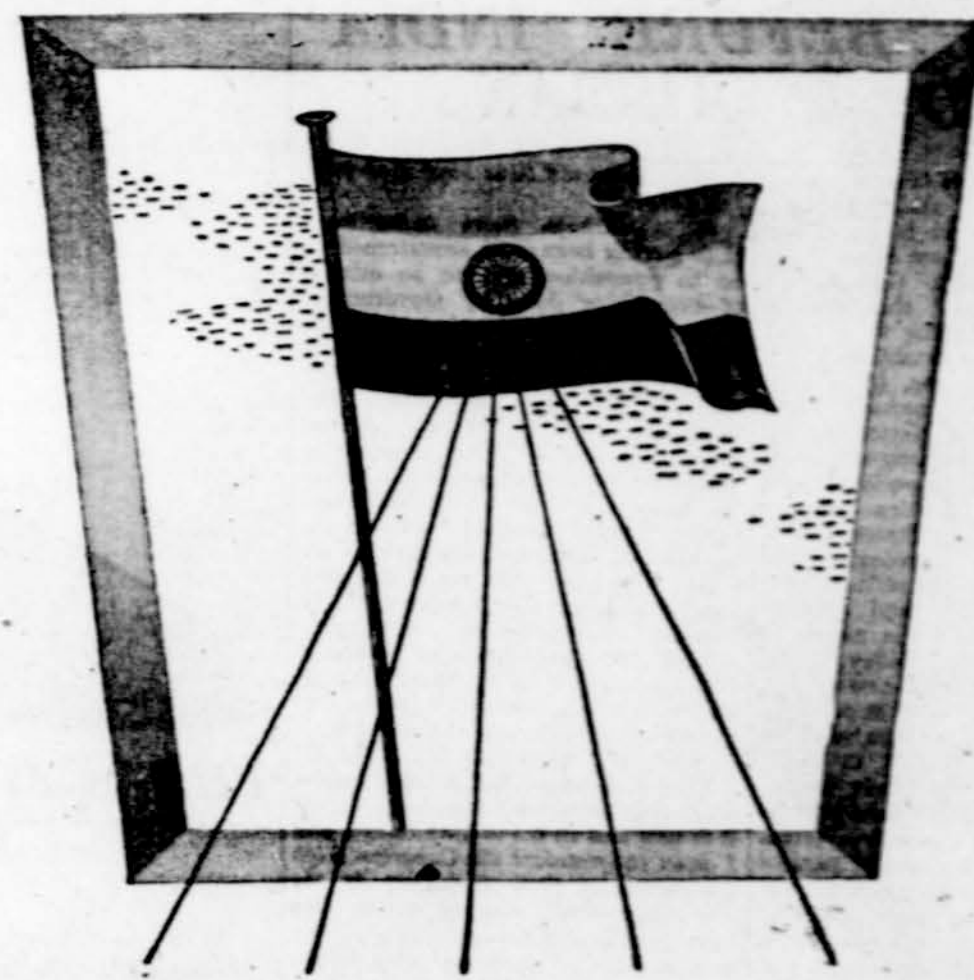
(a) *Hindustani.* The introduction of Hindustani should be gradual, and a 10-year plan should be made and carried out. It is impossible to change the language of the country by a stroke of the pen; not is it necessary to give up the effort in a fit of despair. The question of vocabulary will arise in an acute form. Perhaps in the early stages, the Roman script may be retained, and so also the ordinary technical terms.

(b) *International Law.* The study of International and Constitutional Law is grossly neglected in our Universities and seats of learning. There is an urgent and crying need for the establishment of a good library of International and Constitutional Law. This must be attached to an Institute of International Law, where facilities for research, discussion and study are available to *bona fide* students.

(c) *Teaching of Law.* The teaching of law should be reformed. Too much reliance is placed on lectures and examinations. Discussions, seminars, the Harvard case-method and corporate life, improving the atmosphere of the University, should be aimed at.

(d) *Criminology.* The study of criminology has advanced rapidly in recent years. There are a number of books available in English, but although the field for study is vast and the possibility of doing good attractive, few if any lawyers are drawn to the subject. I would earnestly commend this aspect to the attention of young practitioners and energetic magistrates who would perform a distinct social service by pursuing the subject.

I cannot do better than to conclude with the remark of a great authority, and an old and valued friend, P. H. Winfield (Cambridge): "I only come with a desire to learn and a wish to help." (1928, *L.Q.R.*, 289).



Today India's National Flag is flying where an alien Ensign fluttered for centuries.

We pay our reverent homage to the countless gallant men and women whose indomitable courage and supreme sacrifice paved the way to this hour of national triumph.

★
SOORAJMULL NAGARMULL
8, DALHOUSIE SQUARE, CALCUTTA



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FUTURE OF THE COLONIES

TO-DAY British rule over India has ended and power is transferred to her people themselves. India ceases to be a colony of Britain, and she attains the status of an independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The word "colony" may soon become out of date as the word "dominion" has already become. Imperialism is gradually on the decline everywhere in the world. Mother countries sitting on their colonial broods may become as obsolete as the dodo. But many territories which are now colonies are not able to stand on their own feet as independent countries for some time to come, and others will not be able to become independent any day. What is to become of them?

In July, 1943, the British Colonial Secretary said that his Government was considering the possibility of Regional Commissions on which several States would be represented, to look after the interests of colonies which might fly different flags but which, because of their geographical positions, were of mutual interest to a number of States. The idea is not new. After the first World War the colonial territories of the enemies were divided up between the major victorious powers and a Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was set up as a sort of world receiver for those territories, the administering countries being trustees for mankind. During the second World War, the Middle East Supply Council brought together a large number of countries, Egypt, Palestine, the Sudan, Transjordan, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iraq, Iran and others, for conferences on common problems.

Wendell Wilkie's Solution

Lord Hailey has suggested an International Council for the Pacific Zone. Australia and New Zealand have planned a South Seas Commission. General Smuts also has a plan for the regional grouping of colonies, but it soon emerged that what he primarily had in mind was effective control of Africa by the Union, with

the Rhodesia and Kenya sharing the spoils.

The late Mr. Wendell Wilkie applied himself to the colonial problem with characteristic vigour and said, "We must first set up firm time-tables under which the colonial peoples can work out and train up the Governments of their own choosing. We must establish iron-clad guarantees administered by all the United Nations jointly that they shall not slip back into colonial status. . . . In Africa, in the Middle East and throughout the Arab World, as well as in China and the Far East, freedom means orderly and scheduled abolition of the colonial system. India is our problem. . . . in the same sense that the Philippines are a British Problem."

To this Mr. Churchill retorted that he had not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, but he

By
P. P. Balsara

considerably softened the blow, by admitting that while Britain's colonies must remain primarily her own responsibility, he would welcome the co-operation of other nations in solving colonial problems. After these utterances were made, the projects of a World Fund and a World Bank have emerged to finance the development of backward areas to the advantage of their inhabitants and of all mankind, as there is no doubt that outside aid chiefly financial, and joint efforts are needed to bring up the colonies to the level, or at least near the level, of the other countries of the world. The world cannot be half-rich and half-poor, any more than it can be half-free and half-slave.

Scientific Development Necessary

The colonies have long been exploited by their owners, in spite of the latter's assurance that they have been trustees for their people. Very little has been done for the advancement of these colonies and the time has now come when those backward

territories must be helped to combat poverty, illiteracy, disease, soil-erosion, mal-nutrition and the general backwardness among them. The task is clearly beyond the capacity of a single country—beyond the capacity of Britain even and it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that a joint effort should be made to develop them.

The colonies, although exploited for years, still possess abundant resources which can be made use of for their betterment. But the international management of these backward territories must not mean the continuation of the present state of affairs in the colonies under another name. It must be a well-planned scientific development in the interests of all the people of the colonies and the people of the whole world.

To-day man has acquired control over atomic energy. He has invented the atom bomb. He has got this great victory over the forces of nature before getting adequate victory over his own nature, with the result that he is caught in a trap of his own invention. But the only way to come out of this trap and to escape annihilation by the atom bomb is to abolish war in future and to act jointly for the good of the world, and, for this end, to make the utmost use of the United Nations Organization.

Times have changed; the world is moving into a new age; the days of imperialism are gone. Britain, realising this, chose the path of evolution and gave up her hold over India in time. This seems to be the way of all colonies in future, colonies that can look after themselves. And for those that are unable to govern themselves administration of them by a world organization seems to be the only solution of their problems.

Such an international authority, seeking no gains for itself, should survey such territories, build railways, harbours and airports, dig for minerals, develop the countries generally and look after the welfare of the inhabitants. In other words, the advanced countries must share the responsibility of making the whole world a Commonwealth of Free Nations.

Labour In Free India

On the great occasion of August 15, when India is attaining her national freedom, Indian labour yields to none in its enthusiasm to participate in the Independence Day celebrations.

The Indian working class played a vital role in the struggle for India's freedom. In fact, one of the objects of the organised working class movement in this country had always been to attain national independence. One of the aims of the All-India Trade Union Congress, as embodied in its Constitution, is "to support and actively participate in the struggle for India's political freedom." It is common knowledge that Indian workers and their leaders underwent many privations and sufferings in the cause of national emancipation. The sacrifices of some of the trade union workers in this cause are second to none in the annals of our freedom's movement. With the rest of the population, Indian labour to-day rejoices in the fulfilment of its cherished goal.

Means, Not End

Though we have every reason to rejoice on this historic occasion, we should not forget the essential truth that national freedom is not an end in itself but only a means to attain the ultimate objective of securing a richer and fuller life to every member of the community. Since workers, both in fields and factories, constitute the vast majority of the teeming millions of India, the welfare of these toiling masses should be the ultimate objective of *Swaraj*. Political freedom without economic freedom is not of much value. In order to secure economic freedom to every citizen,

By Dinkar Desai

It would be necessary to create conditions under which all citizens can "pursue both their material well-being and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity" as laid down in the Philadelphia Declaration of the I.L.O. With a view to achieving this objective, free India will have to follow a progressive labour policy.

The urgency for adopting such a policy is all the greater in view of the deplorable state of India's present-day economy under which the toiling masses have reached the limit of poverty and misery. As recently pointed out by the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India: "Unless correctives are applied without delay, there is a danger of the very foundations of society and the economic life of the country being undermined by deepening penury and despair."

In these circumstances free India should immediately formulate and carry out a national programme for improving the condition of the working masses. This programme should include, among other things, (1) full employment and the raising of standards of living; (2) a minimum living wage to all employed; (3) social security measures against risks such as sickness, unemployment and old age; (4) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing, and facilities for recreation and culture; and finally (5) provision for free and universal elementary education and technical training.

Two-Pronged Programme

It must be remembered that an economic improvement in the condition of the working population may not be possible beyond a certain limit unless the whole economy of the country is sufficiently developed. In fact, the total national wealth will have to be greatly increased. In the case of India which is industrially backward, industrial advancement on a very large scale becomes necessary for creating adequate national wealth. But the industrialisation on the desired scale is not possible unless and until all the products of the expanded industry are consumed in the country itself in the absence of foreign markets.

India will not be in a position to capture foreign markets on account of international competition from those countries which are industrially advanced. Thus the fundamental problem of increasing the total national wealth of India by adopting a programme of economic advancement ultimately depends on the extent to which Indian working masses will be able to consume the goods produced as a result of industrialisation.

In other words, any programme of industrial development should be accompanied by a programme under which the increased national wealth is properly distributed among the mass of working population. This is the cardinal principle of a progressive labour policy which free India is expected to adopt.

Fall In Real Wages

In this national programme of

industrialisation and of increasing the purchasing power of the workers in fields and factories, Indian labour can be trusted to cooperate actively. The attitude of the Indian labour movement in this respect is often misunderstood even by responsible leaders and organs of public opinion. It is wrong to allege that Indian labour is not anxious to increase national production; but is only anxious to secure big increases in wages. The conditions under which Indian labour, both in fields and factories, has to live and work are such that any substantial increase in production becomes physically impossible unless the conditions are materially improved.

Statistics published by the Government of India show that the real wages of workers in India went down to the extent of 20 to 60 per cent in various industries since the war due to a steep rise in prices and inadequate grant of dearness allowance to meet this rise. In spite of this distressing fact, Indian labour as a whole has discharged its responsibilities in a satisfactory manner.

The mere occurrences of strikes here and there should not be interpreted to be acts of irresponsibility. After all there is a limit to the human capacity to suffer without protest. The behaviour of Indian workers, when compared to that of organised labour in industrially advanced countries like Great Britain and America, has been on the whole reasonable. There had been as many as 4,985 strikes in the U.S.A. in 1946, breaking all previous records. The total number of workers involved in these strikes was 46 lacs and the number of man-days lost was more than eleven crores.

This happened in spite of the very much higher standard of life enjoyed by the American worker when compared to that of the Indian worker; and further in spite of the fact that the real wages in America have gone up unlike in India where they have decreased. Similarly, in Great Britain there had been as many as 2,205 strikes in the year 1946 in spite of the fact that wages of British workers went up by 60 per cent since the war while the increase in the cost of living in Great Britain was only 31 per cent. And the wage question accounted for more than two-fifths of these strikes in Great Britain.

Eloquent Testimony

In India wages went up only by 25 per cent to 125 per cent according to industries, while the cost of living increased by 200 to 300 per cent, thus bringing down the real wage level.

These figures bear eloquent testimony to the fact that Indian labour cannot be called irresponsible even if we admit for the sake of argument that frequency of strikes indicates an attitude of irresponsibility.

The proper policy on the part of our national leaders should be to understand and appreciate the difficulties of labour and to take it into full confidence in the great task of building a renovated and prosperous India. A policy of distrust resulting in coercion is not calculated either to promote peace in industry or to obtain an increase in national production.

With the advent of national freedom, the problem of labour is bound to assume a new significance. The term 'labour' covers all toilers both in fields and factories. All these yearning for freedom are on the question of how to make India politically free and how to put a stop to the imperialist exploitation of this country by a foreign power. Henceforward the question of questions that will engage our minds would be the problem of abolishing exploitation of man by man in free India itself. In other words, free India will have to bring about a radical transformation in her economic structure with the ultimate objective of establishing a socialist order of society. It is only under socialism that the greatest good of the greatest number can be attained.

Not An Easy Path

The path towards socialism is not an easy one. This goal may not be attained without years of hard toil among the masses and sacrifices worthy of the cause. Industrial labour will have to be organised into mighty trade unions; and rural labour including the peasantry will have to be welded into a powerful force by bringing them under the banner of kisan sabhas. Socialism cannot be established without these mass organisations. The introduction of universal adult franchise in free India would invest these organisations with a powerful political weapon. It is thus obvious that the labour movement attains a different significance in the new political set-up.

A mere talk of socialism, without hard work among the toiling millions, will do more harm than good. What is needed is hard work and less talk.

HUBBUL-WATAN-MIN-AL-IMAN 'Profound Love For Our Motherland Is An Important Part Of Our Faith'

By H. A. Lalljee

TODAY is a great day. We are a free people and we have obtained our independence to a very great extent, free because no one can now claim to have any power over us; independent to a great extent but not entirely, because we have not been able to take full control of our armed forces.

It must be acknowledged that it was the Congress, comprising of all classes of Indians which, over 60 years ago, made bold to ask for our liberty and those were really very hard and trying times and, therefore, all those who worked in the cause of liberty must be reverently remembered.

It is a fact to be acknowledged that it was really the awakening created 30 years ago by Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues which has brought us freedom and independence today and, therefore, we must acknowledge our gratitude to Mahatma Gandhi in the first instance and to all those who worked with him and made all sacrifices.

Duties Of Free People
It is not necessary for me to point

out the difference between slavery and independence, as everyone today knows it very well. However I must say that the duties that primarily now devolve upon us as a free people are as under:—

(1) To raise the standard of living of our people which is so very low by developing our agriculture, commerce and industries, remembering that America which has the highest standard of living wants still to improve the same, and England which also has got a high standard of living will not allow it to decline even if it means dropping of their great notion of being rulers over a fairly large portion of the world, while Russia is out to engulf a fairly large portion of the world under its influence, to bring about a standard of living in a line with their ideology.

Therefore, all our people and especially those who are in more fortunate position must come out to offer

their quota for improvement in this direction and those who have been fortunate enough to have the reins of Government in their hands should conscientiously declare that they will hold the same so long as they honestly and sincerely feel that they can endeavour to achieve the objective within a reasonable time through equitable and fair means.

No Foothold For Foreigner

(2) To endeavour to create unity among all classes by removing as soon as possible differences still existing between various classes, castes and creeds and which have unfortunately led to communal strife and bitterness. This may appear to be an uphill task but when we consider the great strides that have been made in this directions under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and especially when we observe that those who were in hostile camps until recently are now fast becoming friends, we can feel hopeful that differences in this respect would disappear very soon.

Communal strife had become acute



P. R. Reddyar
Madras



B. G. Kher
Bombay



R. S. Shukla
C. P. And Berar



Gopinath Bardolai
Assam



Shri Krishna Sinha
Bihar



Dr. P. C. Ghosh
West Bengal



G. B. Pant
United Provinces



H. K. Mehtab
Orissa

Our Prime Ministers

Freedom, Has Come!

Has it really come? Does it promise to stay? Or, will it return the way it has come? And what does it bring to each one of us?

The questions are not raised in any idle mood, or out of petulance. Those who wish to rejoice over the 15th of August, 1947 have every right to do so. It will be sheer perversity to deny them the right. The day is evidently satisfying to them. But the fact stands that there are a good many among us whom the joy of the day has not come in equal measure. Some too rejoice, but whose joy is not so sincere as theirs. Such a man is fraught.

The 15th of August will convert the erstwhile British India into two Dominions with power transferred to Indian hands. But what is the character of the transfer? The transfer is not to the people of India as a whole. It is a transfer severally to the leaders of the dominant political parties in the land, the Congress and the Muslim League. It is a mere change of hands from the white to the brown—hands divided and raised against each other in brotherly hate.

Under the Cabinet Mission's plan, India had the opportunity to live united and to establish a completely independent composite Indian polity. It could then have spoken to the world with one voice and served as a stabilising influence in international affairs. Now, under the so-called Indian Independence Act, no one will have the right or freedom to speak for the whole country. Hereafter two voices, probably more, possibly contradicting each other, will proceed from here to the joy of an exploiting world.

Foreign Allegiance

A Dominion is certainly a better political status than a Dependency. True, a Dominion has the right to come out of the Commonwealth whenever it likes. If it has the necessary strength to exercise that right. But it does not signify independence in practice. The two Dominions will have to owe allegiance to a foreign crown even as before, and regulate their defence, commerce, and external affairs with due regard to the needs of Britain and other members of the British Commonwealth. To respect the needs of others is certainly high-mindedness. But to do so under a duress—epithetically called 'conventions'—is not freedom. We could have respected the needs of others, not merely members of the British Commonwealth, but of the world at large, equally well, probably better, as free people, under the Cabinet Mission's plan, while preserving the political unity and integrity of India.

And then, how long is this Dominionhood to last for every dismembered limb? Will not the sense of security furnished by the British Navy and the combined strength of the Commonwealth Defence slowly act as narcotics on our new rulers and put off indefinitely the day of active independence. Even if not so, where is the certainty that any of the Dominions will release itself of the bonds of the Commonwealth within a measurable distance of time? And where is the guarantee that when that hour comes, the two Dominions will secede simultaneously? Even should they do so, what surely is the threat that they will not repel each other and seek separate new affiliations?

Some Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi who have themselves blessed the partition, entertain the hope that somehow, some day, good will be the result of ill, and that the two Dominions and the rest of India will merge one into another to constitute a Commonwealth of India. I am not a pessimist. But looking in to the realities of things, I see no prospect of a united India taking shape during the life time of the present members of the Congress High Command, even should they enjoy the lengthy span of life fixed for himself by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Nemesis

A moment did arrive last year when we had the opportunity to instal unity in India on a lasting basis. That was when the Muslim League expressed its willingness to accept the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

It was not an easy thing for a party which had pinned its faith on absolute partition to have agreed to main-

shall have to make some provision in our constitutions and establish conventions in practice in order to inspire fullest confidence and to restore complete harmony. This would not be impossible of achievement if we bear in mind the great and statesmanlike doctrine propounded again and again and so candidly even as late as last week by Gandhi, that India is the home of and belongs to all Indians, born in this country irrespective of whether they be Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians or Jews.

(3) To respect all religions. For centuries it has been our tradition to respect all religions alike, and had it not been for the policy of divide and rule of our erstwhile rulers we would never have experienced the last twenty-five years of troubles and tribulations in this respect and there would never have been any necessity for any demand for any special protection to any faith. In fact when we look towards the third of India known as the Indian States, where the old tradition of toleration has been in existence, we can certainly hope that with our honest endeavours once more to act according to our old traditions with a sincere desire to look upon each other as the children of one mother India, and treating faith as a personal matter and showing respect for all religions, we could bring about conditions wherein any strife or bitterness in this respect would have no place.

The only thing about which we must now be careful more than anything else is never to allow anymore foreign power a foothold on our soil and with that ideal before us each one of us must make the defence of our country the essence of our religion, as is rightly observed in Islam as also in other religions, "hubbul-watan-min-al-Imam".

India Belongs To All

However, as one who has been for many years in public life, I feel that at least for some time to come we

tain the integrity of India under a single Constitution. It was a great moment in our history. The country so to say, was on a full sea; but the Congress did not take the current when it served. It missed the moment. The British Plan of absolute partition was the fate meted out in consequence. It is a Nemesis which greets us to-day, the 15th of August, 1947.

I do not wish to look back and trace the events which have led to this. The attempt will be painful and will serve no useful purpose. The thing that ought not to have been done has been done. It cannot be undone over-night. Such mistakes do not happen now-a-days. But something may yet be saved from the wreckage. Already, conscience has begun to prick in several quarters. At least that is the impression I gather. Mahatma Gandhi is showing increasing signs of restlessness. He is even contemplating to settle down in Pakistan.

But why? Is it that the non-Muslims over there need his protective presence? Evidently not. Mr. Jinnah's assurances of brotherly treatment ought to be more satisfying to them. Or, is it that having failed more than once to court the Muslims, he will try again. But I may tell him frankly that love does not come that way. My humble advice to him is not to make that attempt. Muslims will support his motive. They may even rally to his presence. Really, he cannot do anything for them in Pakistan. They are already secure there.

Position Of Muslims

Gandhi's real post of duty lies in Hindu India. There the Muslim minority is in a veritable plight. It is nowhere compact. Thinly distributed all over the land, numbering though over 40 millions, they present the spectacle of a forsaken community not

By Dr. Syed Abdul
Latif

Knowing how to get on in the midst of an expansive wilderness of Hindus led by leaders by no means in love with them, it is the task of Gandhi to cheer them up and inspire confidence. He knows that the Congress leaders who are now perched upon comfortable seats are new to the art of governance. Inexperienced as they are and led by the lure of power and the urge to pay off scores, they have already begun to scrape out all safeguards provided for them by the retiring Administration, especially in the fields of legislature, education and public service. That is bad.

Let the Mahatma ask his lieutenants to stay their hands. Vast schemes of economic reconstruction are contemplated. Let the Muslim minority have an adequate share in the benefits flowing from them. Freedom may mean anything to the professional political leader. But to the Common man, it should mean the removal of all economic inequalities and the raising of his standard of living. Let the principle be applied impartially. Do not let the Muslim feel that he is economically underprivileged. Freedom connotes prosperity, the Muslim must be allowed to share it along with the Hindu. Else freedom for the country has no value for him. It will simply mean freedom for the Hindu majority. To him it will mean mere slavery.

Above all let none touch the religion or his culture under any guise. As a minority cut off administratively from the Muslim strongholds in the N.W. and N.E. the Muslim of the Hindu India will naturally develop a high sensitivity in this matter. The new Governments will have to beware of forcing the Hindu culture—let us use the term 'Culture' in its comprehensive sense—on the Muslim through educational institutions or by other means. The consequences will be serious.

A great task thus lies before Mahatma Gandhi and the new Congress Government. I should call it a sacred task. If that is discharged honourably, who knows unity may one day dawn on India.

having obtained our independence after a long and bitter fight, we must endeavour to create a new strength, with the object of helping in the first instance all those peoples whose sufferings have been similar to ours or even worse than ours and to endeavour as befitting a great nation to establish for ourselves and all other nations an equality of status wherever they be, irrespective of race or colour.

My appeal to Gandhi and to leaders of the Congress and other parties in the Union of India, as also to Mr. Jinnah and the leaders of all parties in Pakistan, is to adopt as their motto "hubbul-watan-min-al-Iman" which means "profound love for mother country is an important part of our faith." I have mentioned this as I feel the sentiment expressed by this quotation must certainly appeal to all nations, particularly the Asiatic nations. There is no denying that British principle had been the same and that is why they have withstood all storms in history and gradually had become the greatest power in the world. In recent years the Americans have also been following the same principle which has helped to make them so powerful and which if adopted in right earnest will be a sure security for every nation to maintain its independence.

The fight that the unarmed Indonesians have put up and the resistance they have offered single handed to the brutal attacks on them of the Dutch who have been backed, indirectly if not directly by some great powers has been simply because of the fact that the Indonesians in this great principle, hubbul-watan-min-al-Iman.

Unity And Strength

Lastly we have to remember that

Not Who Rules— But How?

The celebrations for the inauguration of the Independence of India, must be with a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow. Joy on the termination of foreign rule after nearly two centuries, and sorrow on the division of our Motherland into two separate Sovereign States with ominous signs of the formation of many more independent units.

The Indian National Congress has been fighting for the freedom of the country from foreign domination for the last sixty years. Hundreds and thousands of people have suffered imprisonment, privations, hardships, and even death. I have also been a humble worker in the cause of freedom and my mind goes back to the days when Mahatma Gandhi took the reins of the Congress in his hands and led the famous Non-Cooperation and Satyagraha Movements from 1920 onwards. All credit for our present political awakening and the results which we have achieved go to one single person alone, and that is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

On this occasion let us all remember



By
Dr. K. A. Hamied

ber and pay homage to the memory of the great Leaders of India who are no more with us today. Men like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mahomed Ali, C. R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Subhas Chandra Bose and T. A. K. Sherwani, who fought and died in harness in the battle of freedom. All these great Leaders and the whole Nation behind them, had one and only one ideal, the Independence and Unity of the country. We have failed to achieve unity and only the future will show how far we succeed in making our Independence a real success.

WIDENING GULF

The tendencies prevailing today to widen the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims are painful to me and to all who think as I do. We

are Indians first and Indians last. In order that we may reap the full fruits of Independence and become a strong, powerful, highly developed Nation, it is essential that every citizen of this country should consider himself Indian, and nothing but an Indian. We should cease to think henceforward in terms of religion, caste or creed. We should cease to think in terms of Provincialism.

The only criterion before every one of us should be the service of the Motherland, the uplift of the down-trodden masses, the development of India's industries, the literacy of the population. If we work in this spirit and men whom Providence has placed in a position to control the destinies of the people are prompted in their actions by this desire alone and not led away by communal, provincial or sectarian rancour, we can hope for this rise of a gigantic nation whose voice will be heard in the Councils of the World.

Before I close, I wish to remind our Leaders of what Mahatma Gandhi once said: "To the millions of people

on the street, it does not matter who rules, but how he rules." In the words of the famous English writer John Stuart Mill: "The worth of a State is determined by the sum total of the worth of the Ministers of the State." I hope that the future Government of India will not follow the red-tape methods which we have learnt from the British during the last 200 years, and evolve a correct system of Government which will work efficiently, quickly and solely in the interest of the people and the country.

On this occasion of the celebration of the First Day of Independence, let us all pray to Providence to give us justice, wisdom, foresight and courage to lead the country to its destined goal of one of the world's great and glorious nations.

Meaning And Implications Of Independence

By Khandubhai K. Desai

On August 15th India will be declared a free country. There is no example of such peaceful transfer of power in the annals of history.

A person whose activity has been limited within a narrow boundary and who has grown accustomed to such a life, struggles for a moment when all the bonds are removed and he is declared a free man. India was in bondage for hundred and fifty years, it is therefore natural that Indians will take some time even to realize and properly appreciate what he has gained.

On the other hand the idea of independence has always been associated with images of a happy and free from poverty and disease, an utopia when all are contented and everybody has what he desires. The dream-land is always more glorious and romantic than the reality. Let us, however, try to analyse the meaning of independence which is ushered in at midnight of the 14th August.

The transference of power is complete and we can now make any laws we desire for the good of the country. We can demobilise the army if we desire to do so, we can nationalise all industries if we are prepared for it, we can make peace or war with any other country. This is no small achievement. We are glad that we have crossed the greatest obstacles in our path of progress towards our goal.

Political independence alone, is not going to solve all our problems. The exploitation of men by men, the great disparity in the earnings of the employer and the employee, the destitution and poverty of the farmer—all these problems have yet to be tackled.

With gaining political independence our fight with the outsider ends, our struggle with the unsocial elements in the country begins. No freedom is complete unless it brings in its wake economic and social independence. Even in countries which are politically free, large masses of people are very unhappy and in constant rebellion against the ruling party. In India we seek to solve this problem by a very simple, though at the same time, a very difficult method.

We propose to transfer the Sovereignty to the entire nation. The Constituent Assembly has accepted the principle of adult franchise, this means that more than 150 millions—men and women—will go to the polls to elect their rulers. No other country in the world has such a large body of voters directly taking part in the administration of their affairs. It is a grand spectacle. If all those who have the right to vote make a proper choice, we can usher in an era of real freedom with-

His name was Alp Astan. Someone complained to the king that his daughter was being molested. The king ordered investigation and immediate arrest and punishment of the culprit. When the culprit was brought before the king, he was found weeping and bathed in tears. When asked the reason of this weakness he said he expected his son to be the guilty person and yet he wanted justice to take its own course. We want now men of iron mould who can maintain justice at any cost.

LABOUR AND CAPITAL

Then the thought switches on to our labour, both manual and non-manual. It is the concern of the powers that be to see that labour get their legitimate due in a Free India. A strong and healthy labour in an independent India is our goal. This labour must be fed and clothed and sheltered in keeping with the dignity of man, but labour also must give something in return to the State. Higher wages mean higher efficiency and higher production at a competitive price. Otherwise we invoke the law of diminishing returns and consequent ruin. As labour must be well paid, so also capital must be carefully nursed. If capital receives a set-back to a crippling extent, there will be no industries and no prosperity in the land and freedom will be an empty name.

Whilst in the midst of these musings I am awakened by the incessant sound of music and jollity. *Hail Liberty*—the mother of love, strength and prosperity, to thee I dedicate my mother-land India. I look out of the window and see the bright sun shining to-day as it ever shone before. I visualise it shining over Pakistan and think of my brothers enjoying their freedom there. The sun rises in the East and the world wakes up at its bidding, the air circulates, the wheel of business moves, the farmer reaps his harvest and the earth rotates round and round.

Such is the power of the Sun. The secret of this power is that it is unattached, it seeks nothing, it looks at nothing from any selfish standpoint. It is shining as a disinterested witness on its glory. So let us be disinterested workers, working for common good, shedding light, life and lustre wherever we go, seeking nothing of the self and we shall preserve our independence and all the powers under the sun shall render us homage. This is what independence will do for us, this is the India of the future, this is my country, my life, my all!

in next two years. There are not a few who would doubt the wisdom of conferring the right to such a vast multitude, but the Indian National Congress was pledged to bring power to the villages and it has fulfilled its pledge. If those who have now the power and authority do not use it with discrimination it is not the fault of the Congress.

Increase Production

The foreign rule for more than one hundred and fifty years, has brought in its train poverty, unemployment and destitution. We are therefore, backward among the nations of the world. It would naturally be our duty to remove this handicap and march forward along with the other nations. If we have to achieve this purpose we cannot afford the luxury of strikes. More production will be our primary need. That alone can raise the standard of life of the masses. If we use our newly won freedom in internecine quarrels, we shall bring more poverty and add to the misery of the country.

Government may be looked upon to devise machinery to settle genuine differences, but the workers and the peasants should understand that the progress of the country depends on their uninterrupted and loyal services to the nation. Those who mislead other slogans will render great disservice to the country. Those who do so claiming to be progressive, will really have acted as reactionaries and to the detriment of the nation.

When the nation was busy fighting its battle for freedom of the country, those who stood aside or did their best to sabotage the movement or allied with the foreign ruler—they will all come to share with us the joy and the glory of the newly won freedom. Let us beware of them. We do not desire to disenfranchise anybody—not even the communists who owe their allegiance to a foreign power than to the mother country—but we must warn the nation against the strategy and tactics of all opportunists under whatever label they work.

It is true that Congress will have to change its role. With acquisition of political power, the economic differences will demand our first attention. Patriotic millionaires who may have assisted the national movement, with funds or other resources, cannot on that score retain their right to exploit their employees or profiteer at the cost of the nation. Unless the rich know and do their duty by the country, they will have to be divested of their unearned income.

What the British Government did during years of war is known to the country. Industry can be mobilized for national purposes and its gains can be transferred to the state exchequer. Ingenious methods will be adopted by all concerned to attract the masses and rope them in their own circles. Slogans of "Religion in Danger", "My province before everything else", "Right of self determination", Equality for all will be heard. Before the elections under the new constitution take place by about 1949, various sections will start their own parties for their own ends, disguising the real intent and purpose.

Activate The Masses

We need not be surprised at all these activities; nor should we lose time attending to study partisan propaganda. The voters of the country belong to the fields and factories—and live in lakhs of villages. They

have to be made conscious; they have to be organised; once they are roused they can very well express what they desire. The masses when inarticulate and unconscious may be a source of danger, but once they become conscious of their rights they will unleash such dynamic energy as would envelop the whole country. It is not the slogans that will bring economic and social liberty to the masses but the real consciousness of the exploited and the down-trodden properly organised on peaceful and non-violent lines, that will create the militant force, which in course of time is bound to establish economic and social liberty.

We have therefore to concentrate all our energies to build organisations of workers and kisans on proper lines and educate them in the elements of citizenship through constructive activities. Mahatmaji has been telling us this thing since the last 25 years, we now realize how important his teachings were. If we desire to avoid fascism on the one hand or rule by bureaucracy on the other, we shall have to rouse the dormant forces, powerful yet latent, among the producers. This process may be slow but it is inevitable. There is no short cut.

There was time when people had lost faith in the gospel of Gandhi, but everybody now admits that his wonderful technique has succeeded in bringing about independence without shedding blood, and comparatively within less than a generation. Let us therefore resolve to undertake this great work of organising the masses and we shall then be able to establish real socialism in this country. Exploitation will have ended, concentration of wealth would become impossible and every man and woman will live in peace and will be able to satisfy his needs.

India hopes to give a message of peace and goodwill to the nations of the world. It can play an unique role by showing the nations of the world the technique of a peaceful revolution. This can be our natural aspiration now that the country is free.

While we march forward confident and hopeful for the future, we feel grateful for our past achievements to Mahatma Gandhi, the father of Indian nationalism. We pay our homage to him and reassert our faith in the principles he has put before the nation.

(Continued from Col. 7.)

with the willing co-operation of all the free citizens of this vast sub-continent the Free Governments of this land will be able to tide over its manifold misfortunes and troubles, i.e., lack of cloth, lack of grain and lack of so many other essential things. With the united efforts of all the inhabitants this country can again become the land of plenty as in days of yore. But every one must put his shoulder to the wheel and exert himself to the utmost in order to make this land great once again.

But India has been divided into two. I am one of those who think that in spite of this seeming separation, both the Dominions can work hand in hand. If a wise policy is adopted, the two Dominions, like a double cherry, can remain one though seemingly parted. The Qaid-e-Azam has said a number of times that he is not against the Hindus. Only yesterday he has prayed for the prosperity of India and wished her well. His argument has been "friendship through division." Just as he has fallen in line with the Indian Government in its policy regarding Indonesia, similarly we may hope that in all matters concerning this great land both the Dominions will act in unison with each other. If this is achieved, this sub-continent, the land of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis and Christians, can again become great. May it become so!

FREE INDIA

(By Z. A. Barni).

At last India is free and thereby one-fifth of the total population of the entire world is freed from the shackles of bondage. This event is unique in the history of the world for it has been achieved, more or less, by methods which were non-violent. From today we shall enter, with pride, the comity of free nations; from today we shall be able to keep our heads high up in the air and now none will be able to look down upon for we are no longer a subject race.

The action of the Britishers in quitting India after a reign of 150 years is also unique. No nation in the world has given freedom to a subject nation in the way the Britishers have done. Who could imagine, say in 1942, that the Britishers would quit India so cheerfully as they have done now? Such is the force of events, over which man has no control. But our heads must be said to the abiding credit of the Britishers that they have bowed before this necessity with grace.

The association between England and India has seen many ups and downs. Many tragic events have tar-

nished this association which the Indians may forgive but they will certainly never forget. But at the same time it must be admitted that this association has been the harbinger of many blessings. The Britishers have done many good things for this country. But the most important thing they introduced in India is democracy and liberal education and it is owing to this education that we Indians were able to achieve our freedom after a peaceful struggle of more than 60 years. Let us hope that in the years to come this association will be ripened into real friendship to the great benefit of these two great countries, since England is the home of freedom while India is the home of some of the greatest religions of the world.

FRIENDSHIP THROUGH DIVISION
India's association with England dates from 1600 A.D. when the East India Company was formed to trade with the East, particularly India. When she entered this country the latter was the land of plenty, but now she has a left a legacy of misery behind her. Let us hope that (Continued in Col. 5.)

Dawn Of Freedom! Resurgence Of Indian Industry!

Freedom and industrial progress are concomitants. In the past we endeavoured to keep aloft the flag of Indian industry. With the flag of Indian independence now on the masthead, our endeavour shall be to produce, along with other industrialists, such goods of quality and in such quantity as to make India a force to reckon with in the industrial world.



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Freedom Day Musings

S. L. Silam, M. L. A.

Amidst the clash and clangour that grow apace with every hour that brings us nearer to our goal of freedom, I steal an hour to retire into solitude to muse over the past, the present and the future.

Casting my mind back into the dim past I see Mahatmaji like the glorious sun rise to the days which ended with Dadabhai Nowroji and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. My spirit meets and walks with these soldiers of freedom, these brave soldiers, now gone to eternal rest, by all their country's wishes blessed, but their spirit lives and nursed by the balmy breath of Mahatmaji and the toil and sweat of the teeming millions of this country will find its culmination on the 15th of August 1947.

The past reverie is over and I begin to think of the present situation. I am immediately reminded of those famous words "Give us Manners, Virtue, Freedom, Power." The east medium of a rational human being is to have manners befitting the dignity of man freed from all shackles. I mean by good manners not mere hypocrisy, but an outward expression of an inward chastened self. Good manners in all walks of life, in dealing with our household people, our neighbours, friends, relations and strangers. Japan would serve as a good example of good manners. In that country, if two men dash into each other, both part as bow to each other and part.

VIRTUE AND POWER

Through sincere practice of good manners man acquires virtue; and virtue is the touchstone of one's fitness for freedom. Without virtue freedom cannot last, indeed it is the negation of all freedom. Without virtue, freedom will be reduced to license and abuse of freedom is worse than having no freedom. Lastly comes Power. A virtuous man is entitled to freedom for he alone can exercise power or the well-being of others. Power to uphold the weak and the lowly, power to bring a ray of sunshine where there is poverty and sorrow, and power to so uphold the name of one's country that it will be respected at home and abroad.

With these thoughts my mind now tries to pierce the veil of future. I am in the grip of a burning desire to learn something of what is in store for us. In vain do I try to get a glimpse of what is to happen, but

through all the haze and mist I hear a still small voice calling to me "Eternal watchfulness is the price of freedom!" The slow soiffulness of by-gone days and the aziness of a drifting lagoon must be relegated to the forgotten archives of the past.

The cobwebs must be brushed aside and we must be mentally alert, physically sound to preserve what we have got. A Government cannot keep on changing its policy to suit the taste and caprice of all. It is for the people to run out their differences and petty jealousies and stand solidly behind its Government. In a close phalanx to assert their independence and to maintain what they have got.

LACK OF DISCIPLINE

This thought of a close phalanx naturally reminds me about the lack of discipline among our people. It is a fact, though unpalatable when told to us, that discipline is conspicuously absent in our people. The mental attitude will lead us to misfortune. A sense of discipline is the pivot, or the king-pin of our future success. Healthy criticism of Government's policy is a ways welcome but mere senseless and illogical ooze talk is not calculated to benefit any one.

Once a Roman army was at the gates of Persia. The Persian General boasted of his numbers to the Romans that they were very few and the Persian hoard would smother them out from their position. The Roman General said: "But you have not got two such men!" and immediately asked one of his men to stab himself to death and the other to jump into the Oams river and both of them promptly did so. This is discipline; This is how India's honour will be maintained; This is how the flag of India will have to be respected and liberty cherished.

On this day, when there is so much to think of, my thoughts keep turning and at each remove drag into a lengthening chain. Manners, Virtue, Freedom, Power—how can they be marshalled into position amidst a thousand varying emotions and ideas. The answer is justice, pure unadulterated justice, justice that gives fair and equal treatment to all, but justice that is above suspicion. It must always remain disinterested, unattached and supreme.

There was once a Muslim ruler.



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Need Of A Beveridge Plan In India

CHANGE is said to be the essence of life. It is undoubtedly its chief characteristic, for nature is one continuous process of processes of change. In nature an arrest or cessation of change means cessation of life or stultification.

But it is clear that no fixed goals can be determined if we mean by these a particular form of society. For change being inevitable, as we have seen, society can have no final goals at which to terminate. The objectives can only mean certain qualities and essences of social living, that must endure to give meaning to the outward forms that constantly shift and transform. Therefore, in formulating social objectives, our emphasis has to be more on the underlying principles than the forms of social functioning, not to aim at a perfect type of society but rather one which will fit the particular needs of the period which we visualise from our present base of experience.

It is also being increasingly realised that to secure a sound basis for a society, it is necessary to achieve a balance and adjustment between the individual impulses and the group needs, and in the same way between the different sections of society in the day to day human relationships as well as social dealings. Our living and working of one section are so intertwined with the living and working of another, that it is in the very nature of things that they are interdependent on each other for their mutual well being, that the ways and codes of one certainly affect that of the other, that no one section can be isolated from the other. A social standard can therefore be only determined in terms of a collective standard, for society is an indivisible organism.

Ill-Balanced Parts
But unfortunately today the various parts of society are ill-balance

bility and could maintain a fairly harmonious and disciplined social pattern into which the women had been closely woven in, the women enjoyed considerable freedom of opportunity and action.

Masculine Domination

Society is but an extension of the home, on which in fact it is founded. In the home the partnership of the man and the woman is inevitable and therefore the continuation of that practice into the extra-domestic, is but logical. Therefore a lack of balance in society must necessarily be traced to its roots. From time immemorial whether woman equaled man in actual physical strength or not, has continued to carry heavy loads as men. As warriors, hunters, fishers, tillers, craftsmen, women have equalled men. But her own biological function imposes on her a period of helplessness which seems to have given men, all through the history of mankind, the chance of keeping the upper hand, and make woman almost lose the race.

The woman, however, not to be completely outdone, made certain functions her own, such as home-craft and cottage industries. She turned her nimble fingers and deft mind to turning out savoury dishes to tempt the family with; weaving exquisite textiles to adorn the members of the household; moulding lovely pottery for use in her proud kitchen; growing fruit and flowers, roots and vegetables and other edible plants to feed the family. In other words, gradually she became the pivot of the domestic circle; it mainly revolved for as living standards rose and needs grew more complicated, the demands expanded, and these functions made woman into a valuable economic asset. In fact it is now believed that it is this very industriousness which made woman such an attractive possession.

blems of its own. For instance, although the traditional vocation of house-keeping and rearing of children still holds its own as the major industry amongst the women, its economic value still remains to be recognised. The heavy labours involved in this ancient profession are not properly assessed. Society and the State still look upon the man's extra domestic profession as an economic asset. For a good many years even when a woman worked outside her home, she was not recognised and hence her claim even to her earnings was not admitted. Man was and still continues in several countries, to be the head of the household and the family, the dispenser of its economic possessions. Hence the women in India today have not the same property rights as men.

Due to this initial handicap woman has suffered all along, and every economic change followed by the social, has imposed only additional burdens on her. This in itself holds the entire key to the future status of women.

The Industrial Age

The advent of machinery completely smashed the old pattern of living. Until then the division between domestic and extra domestic, as now was vague. For the essentials of life were produced mostly by the family collectively. Society was split into small communities and all the daily activities converged around the nucleus of the home. Hence the later divisions of labour between the sexes was never so pronounced, the frontiers fluid. Each family being more concentrated was very much larger. Men and women worked together in fields and at home-crafts. But as machine converted each of these occupations into large-scale industries, their character underwent total change, and gradually even the most intimate tasks became public, such as cooking, eating and lodging.

And when women found that their individual effort could not compete with the large collective extra-domestic industries, many of them found themselves increasingly forced to join the vast growing concourse of humanity tied monotonously to the machines. This wrought a real onslaught on the quiet stream of the old home-life. It meant henceforth abandoning the ancestral setting, the home and its archaic privacy cut adrift from the family domain, to jostle with crowds, live in squalid slumps, neglect the children all day, and the like. These changes have come to rapidly recondition the human as well as the material elements of society. Hence our immediate future problems must necessarily

corollary to this, for once she is put on an equal footing with man in the home, her natural right to the ownership of property is bound to be established.

Curious Anomaly

Another curious anomaly that prevails today is that while society accepts as an inevitable part of nature, the working class woman's forced labour, it resents and obstructs the middle-class woman's aspiration for an independent extra-domestic profession. Where she has made her way, she continues to be treated on a lower economic footing. The future society has therefore to recognise the woman's right to any profession and also apportion her equal payment for equal work, free from the present sex discriminations.

This raises another issue. The change in the old economy and the rise of the new, has meant the break up of the old joint family system, for the new generations do not conform any more to the professions of their fathers, but rather aspire and train for new ones. This has naturally meant straying away from the central family conclave. This has had serious repercussions on the life of the women. The woman, though perhaps to a lesser extent, is becoming more and more isolated. The rapidly changing conditions also serve to widen the gap between the old generation and the new.

The younger woman therefore gladly welcomes a home of her own, to live her own life untrammelled by the rigid codes and often the nagging interference of the old. But experience is proving that this problem is not solved so simply. In a large household, there is far more division of labour and the entire burden did not fall on any single woman. Rather where a young woman, particularly a new mother was concerned, it was appreciably shared by the elder woman of the household. Equally important was the gradual initiation and training of budding womanhood to the onerous duties of a housewife and responsibilities of a mother. Such training was an indispensable part of the family culture.

Raw And Untutored

Today most young women just never get a chance of any such instruction. The academic routine absorbs them the first part of their youth and when that ends it is to straightway enter upon the housewife's solitary domain. As schools and colleges do not as yet normally include home-science or mother craft in their syllabus, such essential instruction is wantonly by-passed, leaving the young woman raw and untutored for the heavy and important duties. The

Why Not Call The Federal Parliament 'Congress'?



I would have wished the transfer of power from the hands of the British to have taken place on the August 8, that memorable day when the "Quit India" resolution sponsored by the Mahatma Gandhi was passed by the Indian National Congress.

In any case exactly five years and one week thereafter Britishers are actually quitting India. What a prophetic expression when that great leader coined this word. To give effect to this expression of "Quit India" he simultaneously coined another symbolic expression, "do or die." He further prophesied that the 1942 struggle with Britain was to be the last struggle, and it has really come to be a last struggle.

We have won our freedom and Indians are to rule India after August 15. It is our deep sorrow that while we have won freedom at the cost of great sacrifice our dear country has been divided into two parts. It is argued and rightly said that the sacrifice of the Congress has bestowed a "ready-made freedom" upon Pakistanis who never put up a single fight against the British rule in India to attain freedom. During the various stages of the struggle that the Congress put up against foreign rule, it said unequivocally that the freedom to come through their fight shall not be the freedom of one party or one class but for every Indian.

We do not, therefore, grudge our Muslim friends ruling in the provinces where they are in majority; what we bitterly resent is the division of India. They could have ruled equally efficiently, ably and satisfactorily even without the division.

GANDHIJI'S TRIUMPH

Now that Britain is out of the field, let us hope both the Dominions will work hand in glove in the spirit of full co-operation, accommodation and goodwill so that India though divided may be happy and prosperous.

It is a proud privilege for the past and present Congressmen and millions of Indians who sympathised with Congress all these years, to see their country achieving their cherished goal under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Many people including several congressmen at times pooled the Gandhian doctrine and policy adopted by the Congress organization, but who will deny the fact that the smooth transfer of complete power without violent battle between the ruler and the ruled is not entirely due to this very doctrine and policy?

Thus the country which has passed

through high and low tides, ups and downs, for the last twenty-seven years, has won its absolute freedom. Sixty five years record of the Indian National Congress shall remain momentous in the history of our struggle to win purna Swaraj or complete Independence. It is now in our hands to mar or make the future of India. Let us pray that our great leader Mahatma Gandhi who changed the outlook of our life, has lived to see India free, will live many many long years to see poverty side men, women and children get sufficient work, and sufficient food to live a life worthy of living.

WHY NOT 'CONGRESS'?

As to our Flag it was the symbol of freedom. Thousands of people using the slogan "Up With the National Flag, Down With the Union Jack" will on the 15th August see this slogan translated into action. The British bureaucracy in India pulled down our flag from public places and even private houses and trampled under their feet. Despite this, young and old all bore every

By
R. K. Sidhwa

hardship to keep the Nation's flag ever flying. Henceforth on all public buildings and offices in Indian Union, National flag will fly with all its glamour indicating its firmness to remain in their places till eternity. May God help. We had a quarrel with the Union Jack because it reflected the symbol of slavery in this country. Henceforth Indian Nation will respect the Union Jack just as they would respect the Flag of other Nations.

I have one suggestion to make. In the proposed Union Constitution the Legislative Power of the Federation is proposed to be vested in the Parliament of the Federation which shall consist of the President, the National Assembly comprising two Houses, viz., Upper House to be known as "Council of State" and the Lower House as "House of the People." I would suggest the Parliament of the Federation to be styled as "Congress." The battle of freedom won under the "Congress" organization should find a suitable place in the new constitution by instituting the word "Congress" as stated above.

Purna Swaraj has been achieved. There is no doubt about that but an average man in the street both in the

rural and urban areas enquires what he has achieved? The interrogation is pertinent. Their condition at present is pitiable. During the interim period when the Coalition Government was in office for the last 9 months they have had bitter experience. While they expected many happy results, the condition was quite the contrary. An average man does not bother about the various hardships under which our own members have to work. No sooner the Congress leaders accepted the office in the Centre they expected Hell converted into Heaven. Their expectations having not materialized, they are a bit critical today. Now that the complete power is transferred into our own hands there are chances of better results.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION

In my opinion, if the independence achieved has to be made worth living then the economic conditions of the country are to be revolutionized. It is proved that if the very basis of Society has to be uprooted an immense economical work has to be carried out. Unless the Central Government leads in the matter of Socialist system of economy, I doubt whether the various Provincial Governments will do so enthusiastically as to immediately undertake the great task before them. I would suggest an Economic Commission to be appointed by the Indian Union to find out ways and means to meet abnormal requirements of the Country for the following Nation building programme—

The Socialist system of economy, nationalization of high industries, administration on co-operative basis of trading enterprises; equalisation of capital; prevention of exploitation; abolition of unemployment, and guaranteeing the right of work to every citizen; recreation, annual vacations, leave with wages for maternity period, child welfare, rest homes, clubs, and comfortable dwelling houses for all classes of workers; right to maintenance in old age, family provision in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work, free medical aid (All these could be provided by a wide-ranged scheme of insurance so as not to cause a burden on the finances of the Federation) and compulsory levy of death duties.

All these schemes everybody likes. But the time for mere liking has gone now is the time to give these a practical shape and let us hope the right lead in this direction shall be given by our Central Government, so that the long cherished dream of the masses, be fully accomplished.

By Kamaladevi

LET WOMEN PLAN FOR THE FUTURE

Their efforts and codes which govern them also vastly differ. This has led to continuous friction and conflict between these component parts. A social plan has therefore to be directed towards eliminating the factors which destroy the balance and harmony and reduce the causes of the friction to the minimum so that the social unit may function as a harmonious whole.

Women happen to be one of the several sections of society that are out of step with the march and therefore with society. Their natural unfoldment has been arrested and progress stunted. Innumerable barriers have been erected in their path. Outworn customs that lack an inner meaning or significance, weigh them down like heavy mill-stones. But these are no more the exclusive problems of women than children of the home are. This is in a way a world characteristic. But the Indian background is rather different from that of the West. In the days gone by when India enjoyed a well-developed economic sta-

tion and led man on to acquire a proprietary interest in her.

Be that as it may, as society grew more complex with the growth of private property and economic inequalities followed by social inequalities deepened into pronounced divisions to society, it led to enslavement of certain sections of society, one of them being women. Sex may therefore be taken in this context to be one of the factors adding to the complexities of social maladjustments, although the basic divisions are undoubtedly economic, for roughly speaking the broad division may be said to be the larger group of women (and men) condemned to harsh unrelenting toil and the infinitesimally smaller group condemned to a petty irresponsible state of enervating material comfort, rightly described as the first waste product of the new economic system.

Key To Future

Sex nevertheless does cut across the broad divisions of society, creating pro-

blems of its own. For instance, although the traditional vocation of house-keeping and rearing of children still holds its own as the major industry amongst the women, its economic value still remains to be recognised. The heavy labours involved in this ancient profession are not properly assessed. Society and the State still look upon the man's extra domestic profession as an economic asset. For a good many years even when a woman worked outside her home, she was not recognised and hence her claim even to her earnings was not admitted. Man was and still continues in several countries, to be the head of the household and the family, the dispenser of its economic possessions. Hence the women in India today have not the same property rights as men.

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carry a close and vital bearing on these.

Double Burden
For the first time, women came to be forced to carry double burdens. Henceforward, the home-activities came to be divorced from the professional and correspondingly the gap between the functions of men and women also widened. By far the larger number of women had now to toil singly at home for that was considered her "rightful" field of work. At the same time economic necessity forced her to labour outside the four walls of the house to earn her livelihood. By implication, the homework, hard and laborious though it was, lost its economic value and ceased to be related to the basic economy of the family. Woman therefore lost her economic independence.

As we have seen, she had to battle hard even to get recognition to these earnings of hers. Any future reconstruction will therefore have to commence from this foundation. In a competitive society, work is assessed only according to its "marketable" possibilities. Hence evaluation of such functions in modern pecuniary terms is rather difficult, although they are the most sweated and unregulated of industries. As a matter of fact, woman expends more time, energy and skill over her domestic tasks than any unionised worker in heavy industry. Her tools are countless, her hours unlimited, her obligations compelling. While society assigns her the several onerous duties, it grudges her even the few rights which are her natural dues.

A worker with a job cut out and all the rights legally protected has economic precedence and higher social status than a housewife, simply because her industry does not entitle her to a weekly wage or a monthly cheque! This false slant has undermined the woman's independent status and made her a mere appendage of man. Hence the idea that "man supports woman", and the many social and sex inequalities that emerge from it, such as, for instance, lower wages even in large industries. The value of woman is not only pecuniary or biological, it is social as well. For she is the social stabiliser and the cultural repository among the basic fundamentals of future society would therefore be the recognition of woman in her traditional function as an independent economic entity and her present status as a "dependent" on man as though she were a futile parasite and contributed nothing. The rest must necessarily follow as a natural

working class women who are compelled to work outside their home have to completely neglect their homes and the children, the latter being left to the mercies of the neighbourhood or the comparatively grown up ones, who in their turn are thus unable to go to school.

So far as the other classes go, only a small number may be able to afford a servant, but one has for practical purposes to assume they have to generally manage on their own. Ill-equipped, unaided, these women carry on their struggle to keep the house going against great odds. For one thing life and human needs have become far more complex and make more demands on human energies and time. The man too expects more from an educated wife and more duties fall to her lot.

Most young women of this class get utterly exhausted today within the first 5 to 10 years of their married life, weighed down by these domestic cares of everyday routine. They have little leisure and even less energy to keep up any intellectual interests. Gradually they lapse back into a kind of dead lethargy, their minds becoming dull. They soon forget even the little they had learned, and in course of time become quite uneducated if not exactly illiterate.

Beveridge Plan

Thus while the old world has passed away, giving place to a new, neither the old nor the new practices have we conditioned and adapted ourselves to the present world. As we have already seen, it is very essential that the domestic sphere and its functions get the due recognition, for it cannot be solved by compelling women to go out on jobs. Rather today, the approach is to give women the option to make her choice. Even in Soviet Russia where everybody is encouraged to work, there is in normal times no compulsion for housewives. This is as it should be. Where women wish to engage themselves in extra-domestic work, as many are bound, not only no discrimination should be applied but State and society should provide every facility, to enable women a free choice.

Family allowances, baby bonuses and the like should be a part of a social structure. The Beveridge plan makes a hopeful beginning in this direction and Canada has also come out with a plan for baby bonuses, thus every baby beginning with the second, entitles the family to an allowance. This definitely ensures the personal care and attention of its mother, as it

now saves her from the burden of extra-domestic work.

The Beveridge plan also makes provision for a Marriage and Maternity Benefit which are also useful pointers. That is the social insurance provides for young woman who has worked at a job up to the time of her marriage, to get a Benefit when she wants to marry and when she becomes a mother, so that she has ample funds in hand on those occasions which call for extra expense. This is a thoughtful and useful provision that a future State may take for a basis and improvise on.

Housing Provision

In countries like Sweden which have co-operative housing schemes, houses are allotted according to the size of the family and not the purse. Thus if the house rent is 1-10th the salary or the income, it is irrational to allot a large place to a childless couple or family of three or four members, simply because their income is higher and they can pay a high rent, whereas a lower income family of larger size is squeezed into a smaller place. The prevailing practice needs to be altered to a more rational one. Housing space must be determined by the size of the family and not necessarily higher rent for a larger house. This alone can ensure healthy living, privacy and comfort for the growing children, some of the most essential requisites that are obviously ignored today.

But in addition, creches, nursery and kindergarten schools, planned leisure-hour children's activities, etc., etc. have to be an essential feature of a normal society. For whether a woman stays at home or goes out, there must be some place where a child can be left when the woman wants to take time off. Then the child ceases to be a burden. Moreover in Nursery and Kindergarten Schools, children learn at an early age to live in an organised and disciplined manner in a large group, learn healthy social habits, especially where a woman has a large family and heavy domestic burdens, she is inclined to be less patient and more brusque with the growing children who often become victims of her temper for no fault of theirs. Thus such institutions are helpful even in the case of a full-time housewife.

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A Congressman Takes Stock

Today we face a memorable occasion when the shackles that had long fettered, this great and beloved land of ours, lie broken. But does the road that lies ahead of us promise prosperity and happiness?

Or is it only the substitution of one nightmare by another? Even today our feelings of rejoicing are not without mingling of pain and agony. It is felt by some that the Freedom that is achieved has been almost negated by the breaking up of this vast land of ours into so many bits and pieces.

Pakistan is no more a phantasia or a figment of imagination but a settled fact, at least for the time being. Who has been responsible for it? Could it not have been avoided? Or was it, that the few Muslims who remained loyal to the Congress till the last, lagged behind?

It has certainly aggravated communal problem. It can never solve it. DRAFT TOWARDS COMMUNALISM

Leaving these matters for the present, where they are, let us have a glance at the past events. On several occasions during the bygone years I have been emphasising that the Hindu communalist element inside the Congress itself had greater share for the establishment of Pakistan. As compared with theirs, the Muslims in Hindu majority areas have remained more loyal to their brethren in what is now the Pakistan Area. The Hindus in the area where they were in majority were motivated more by selfish considerations and did not care for their brethren in Pakistan. And Shri Rajagopalchari's contribution is none too small in this regard as well as Veer Savarkar's two Nation theory.

the brave leadership of Hazrat Shah Waliullah and his colleagues. Their great institutions, Madrasah of Deoband and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema have the honour of an unparalleled record of untold sacrifices and sufferings. The consistent heroic role which these two institutions have played persistently in the National struggle for Independence will fill a glorious chapter in the annals of this country.

The Muslims formed vanguard of the struggle in its early phase and also did not lag behind during non-cooperation movement. Their contribution in making the Congress strong was no small. But because of separate electorate communalism came in the forefront and the Congress also could not remain safe from its influence. The Muslims gradually seceded from the Congress and played

communalism more and more into the body politics of India.

The communal virus nurtured by mixing up of religion and politics by the Khilafat movement received a new lease of life by these elections. Though the Congress did not officially contest the elections in 1925, it did permit the Swaraj Party to have the blessings of Congress. The teeth of communalism grew sharper and sharper, though its effects were not apparently felt.

Hindu Congressmen were getting more and more Hinduised, to use a phrase of Veer Savarkar, much to the liking of Hindu Mahasabha. Thus set in the decline of Nationalism.

MISTAKEN CHARGE

Congress Muslims are often charged for their failure to wean away the

A Memorable Month

The month of August will ever remain a most memorable month in the history of Indian freedom struggle.

Today on the 15th of this month our country is attaining her freedom and as the day which saw the culmination of the past sixty years efforts in that direction and marked the end of Britain's imperialist rule of over hundred and fifty years, this day is bound to remain for ever the day of Indian independence. The day has its significance not only for India but for the whole of the East, as it marks the termination of colonialism of western powers and once India is free the freedom of other Asian and African countries, both to the east and the west of the Mediterranean as well as those in South East Asia, must follow as a matter of course. For, if for any reason it did not happen, neither will India's freedom be a reality nor can it be said to have achieved its purpose. The importance of such developments for world peace and freedom is equally significant.

Thus it is the importance of this day for the freedom of the East as well as for world freedom and not merely the sense of satisfaction of any narrow nationalism that gladdens the heart of every Indian.

It is but natural that such a great day is being celebrated by the nation with a good deal of enthusiasm. But while celebrating the 15th it will be good to remember that there are at least three more dates in this very month which will find their place in the history of this period whenever it is recorded. These are the 1st, the 9th and the 18th of August. The first two of these call to our mind sweet memories of courage and heroism shown by our people in the fight for liberty which elevated us as a people, while the third brings to our minds tragic memories of a day on which the same people lowered themselves to subhuman levels. We would naturally like to remember the first two and try to forget the third but it will not be wise to ignore the bitter lessons the last of these dates has taught us.

Compared to those who will recall from personal memory the birth of the freedom movement under Gandhiji's leadership, the number of those who will recall the subsequent struggles in 1930 and the hectic days of the Dandi March and the Salt Satyagraha will be much larger, but the largest of all will be the number of those who witnessed the final phase of that struggle which commenced on the 9th of August 1942. The thought that only five years ago our people demanded that the British who had ruled over this country for over 150 years "Quit India", and within such a short time the demand is being implemented is indeed very heartening and an achievement of which the Indian nation can rightly feel proud.

But while one can rightly feel proud about the 1st of August which saw the birth of freedom struggle under Gandhiji's leadership, and the 9th of August on which India dealt a final and crushing blow to British imperialism, the first day of the second half of this very month, namely the 15th of August, 1947 started a year which will ever remain a year of pain and sorrow and it is with a sense of

utter shame and disgust with which an Indian will recall that fateful day to his mind.

The tragic memory of the Great Calcutta Killing and all that followed in its wake, Noakhali, Bihar, Gadchiboli, Punjab and the N.W.F.P. reminds us that although the sufferings and sacrifices of a generation of Indians have borne fruit, the fruit is bitter with pain and sorrow. We have certainly attained freedom for our country but we have lost the unity of the country in the bargain. This fact will and it must act as a constant reminder to every Indian that the task he set before himself whether early in 1920 or the middle thirties or the recent 1942, that task remains unfilled and as the Socialist leaders in their recent appeal for the Socialist Party Fund have rightly observed "the parts divided in hatred and anger are rejoined in affection and willing unity, India's destiny will remain unfilled and her freedom incomplete."

But how is that great task to be achieved? How are we to fulfill the destiny of this ancient country which we have the proud privilege to belong to and whose free citizens we become from this day onwards? How are we to complete its freedom? These are the questions which will naturally come to the mind of every Indian and more especially to the

By M. A. Harris

minds of those who have participated in the freedom fight may their part be big or small. And the future of this country and of the yet unborn generations of Indians will depend on the answer that the present generation gives to this question. We today Indian nationalism faced with the greatest challenge ever thrown to it. It has passed through many a test before this, but today in its hour of final triumph it is being tested in a manner in which it has never tested before. The question before it whether it will hold fast to its sheet anchor and build in this country a free and democratic state and also a Republican Socialist state, or will it fall a prey to the many cries of narrow communalism which are trying to lead it astray and build in the Indian Union a narrow Hindu communal state? It is no wonder that those who are known to be communalists and who have always fought nationalism are shouting for this. But what pains one to see is that many of those who call themselves Congressmen and followers of Gandhiji, although they may not be so unwise as to say openly that they are working for a Hindu State, are openly doing things which are nothing but a negation of all that they have preached during the last quarter of a century under Gandhiji's leadership. It is a realisation of this bitter truth that has made Gandhiji the sorrowful man that he is today. Even the Anglo-Indian paper of our city wrote a few days back, "Mr. Gandhi today is a very disappointed man, indeed. His followers may, and do claim him the father of Indian freedom, but he does not see freedom in the era that dawned on August 15. He has lived to see his followers transgress his dearest doctrines. His countrymen have indulged in a bloody and inhuman fratricidal war, non-violence khadi and many other of his principles have been swept away by the swift current of politics. Disillusioned and disappointed he is today perhaps the only steadfast exponent of what is understood as Gandhism. His object is to prevent killing of brother by brother. He deserves sympathy and support from every one both in India and Pakistan." It is a terrible indictment of Indians in general and of those in particular who are never weary of styling themselves as Gandhians. But however terrible the indictment one can hardly disagree with the analysis. We do not know what support and sympathy Gandhiji will get in Pakistan, but being the realist that he is and knowing that it is Pakistan more than the Indian Union that needs his services he has declared that he is going to spend the rest of his days there. But it is evident that his success or failure there will depend to a large extent on what we do in the Indian Union. His object, one may say, is not only to prevent further killing of brother by brother but it is going to be a supreme effort to

rejoin in affection and willing unity what has been divided in hatred and anger" if one may once again borrow the phrase so aptly used by the Socialists in their appeal. If one can read the spirit of that appeal it becomes evident that Gandhiji, etc., has been so sadly disappointed by his followers will get the maximum support from the Socialists in the noble effort that he will undertake for bringing to this country that freedom which will act as the cement that will bind the two parts of the country into an enduring unity. Let all Indians who want this country to fulfill its destiny rededicate themselves to this new task on this first day of their independence.

(Continued from Col. 4.) Congressmen, lowered them to the eyes of other members of their community. They were disrespected in their own communities because they were Congressmen and Hindus did not like them because they were non-Hindus. This fact is now well known that a number of Muslims who were Congressmen were massacred in Bihar and Gur-Mukteswar.

The Congress Muslims faced all these bravely. They have remained and shall remain true to the high ideals of the Congress whether the Congress may remain in existence or perish.

THE LAST ELECTIONS

The elections in 1946 drew within the Congress fold, strange bed-fellows. People to whom Congress ideals were an anathema, became Congress-men overnight and were tipped off to Legislature memberships by being given tickets not because they had large following or as a matter for that they had any following or the confidence of the public. It was simply because the opportunists and vested interests had consolidated themselves and dug their way deep into the Congress.

The tried and honest men who had sacrificed their all for the Congress were bypassed and neglected in

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To Every Hindu & Muslim...

Could they not have asserted themselves with a greater vigour? The answers to these questions belong to the history of the Past. What about the Future? What will happen to Pakistan and Hindustan?

Will they be united once again and woven into one indissoluble fabric? Will this be brought about by sheer force or will it be arising out of mutual co-operation, goodwill and voluntary action? These are the much discussed questions which keep on occurring to our minds again and again.

After the Viceroy's declaration of 3rd June, I had a desire to express my feelings through the medium of the press, but I was too disheartened to voice my thoughts accurately. I had been endeavouring to achieve independence for the Nation and become full-fledged partner in a happy India. My first reaction after this declaration was that from a slave I became a foreigner in my own country! I will never go to Pakistan and here I was to be treated as a hostage for the "safety" of the minorities in Pakistan! Subsequent statements of some of the communalist Congressmen proved my fears to be a reality.

However, with the passage of time, things are revealing themselves into their clearer perspective and final touches are given to the grandiose plans to honour a foreign Governor-General by "Independent India." These are, I confess, high politics and a humble and ordinary worker like me, may fail to compass its advantages or comprehend the diplomacy involved. Let us hope that this is only a transient phase and before long this country of ours will emerge as a full-fledged Republic in the true sense of the word.

NO REST TILL.....

As far as I am concerned, with all the emphasis I may state that it was not this concept of Independence for which I laboured for long tiring years. There can be no rest for me or to those of my persuasion who will continue ceaseless efforts till the achievement of a Socialist Republic of a united India. It will be only one country from Kanya-Kumari to Kashmir in which there will not be the slightest room for any Maharaja or Nawab, or even their semblance. It is well nigh impossible to prophesy with accuracy the coming events, but my feelings are that neither the India of the conception of Hindu communalists, whether those within the Congress or outside; nor the Pakistan, envisaged by the Muslim League is feasible or can withstand the onslaught of Time and circumstances. The will of the masses, in both the areas will ultimately assert itself. It will be "the will" to federate and co-operate as an integral unit for the betterment and prosperity of the mother country. It is ridiculously impossible for these eastward separate parts to plan an invasion against each other. There may be a dislocation or some unauthorised minor clashes here and there, but any organised or regular warfare is unthinkable.

At present we find panic among a large number of Hindus in Pakistan area. There are some signs of returning confidence among the Hindu particularly in Sind. But the friends here are suffering from a cerebral upsetting. Some of the well-known personalities who were proclaiming themselves from house tops devout disciples of Mahatma Gandhi and the custodians of Gandhian principles, are to-day exposed in their true communalist colours. Even their iron cloak of artificiality to hoodwink the masses has been torn asunder and we are face to face with naked realities. They may as well be awaiting some news in exaggerated forms from Pakistan which would give them an excuse and a justification to cut the throats of Muslims this side. I have told these friends to select people like me in the first instance. This will give them a dual advantage. Establishment of Pakis-

It has been my privilege to be actively connected with Congress since 1920. During these 27 years I have not joined any other organisation, party or group. There have been tremendous changes in the working of the minds of Hindus in the Congress since then. There was a time when the Congress stood for thoroughly Nationalist Ideals. It was an organisation which rallied round the progressive forces in the country and was a guiding star to them. Often the erring and drifting souls looked up into it, as in a mirror and corrected themselves. But from

By Abid Ali Jafferbhoy

1924 onwards, the high ideals for which it stood, were methodically and consistently set aside and undermined till we find to what corrupt plight it has reduced the Congress today.

Very little of the old robustness is left in it, now. Nevertheless in the midst of confusion all round, there is only one man who has been consistent throughout and that is Mahatma Gandhi. Today once again people are mocking at his advice. Persons who only till yesterday were swearing loyalty to him have begun to say that he is now too good for politics. He may, as well, set up a "math" and just preach "sermons to his disciples." There was a time when these people could find it profitable to parade under the cloak of Gandhism, today it did not pay to do so, therefore it is to be thrown overboard.

Often, have I paused to decide as to who is a greater communalist, the Muslim-League or Hindu Congress leader of a particular category? My conclusion has been that by sheer force of circumstances the degree of communalism among both of them is almost equivalent.

It was the deliberate design of British Imperialists to stem the tide of freedom and fritter away our energies in petty communal bickerings, that forced the separate electorate on this country in 1916. The seeds of dissensions were sown. The reactionary elements among both the communities fell head over heels on this opportunity. These elements, the Princes and the communal bodies were encouraged by the Government. After accentuating difference and antagonism, the British Government stood aside after the riots broke out, posing as a great neutral but at the same time playing off one section against the other.

The forced divergencies went on aggravating till the success of the British Imperialists Game was achieved, namely the complete division of the country, although the Labour Government may not have desired it. Thus it will be seen that it was a great blunder on the part of the Congress in 1916 to walk into the diabolical trap of the Imperialists and accept separate electorates. Had it not been so, the division would have been doubtlessly avoided. A review of these events testifies that it is futile to find fault only with the leaders of 1947, the leaders of 1915 have to share the greater burden of the blame.

TORCH-BEARERS OF STRUGGLE

It will be far from truism to say that the Muslims have kept aloof from the National struggle for Independence. As a matter of fact, they were the pioneers as torch-bearers of this struggle in 1857 and held aloft its banner for years and years. The entire non-co-operation movement of 1920 launched by Mahatma was a replica of the policy at first originated by the valiant fighters of Bihar and other Muslims about a century ago. Their programme included boycott of courts, schools and all other Government institutions. They refused to defend themselves during the trials and abstained from participating in the court proceedings. The struggle forged ahead even after the glorious revolution of 1857 under

in the hands of the Communist section of Congressmen. This weakened the strength of good Congressmen. In spite of this the same element inside the Congress and the influence of a few members belonging to minority communities were helpful to keep up the Nationalist character of the Congress to some extent. But the unholy alliance of Maha Sabha with the Muslim League in the Legislatures and the Local Bodies forced some of the Congress Parliamentarians to become more communally inclined because they had to keep their eyes on their constitu-

cies where Hindu Mahasabha candidates were to be faced which were more dear to them than the Nation and Congress principles.

During non-co-operation days the communal unity was at its highest peak. Council elections of 1920 were completely boycotted by both the communities. The Muslims were whole-heartedly with the Congress as before. It was the Belgian Congress Session that permitted Council entry by Congressmen. This was a great blow to the revolutionary character and trend of the Congress. The basis of elections was separate electorate and those who were interested in these elections had to count on their co-religionists for success and go a-begging to them for vote.

Legislatures were again boycotted in 1930 and the great civil disobedience movement started. The elections of 1937 and acceptance of ministries by the Congress infiltrated

It was the action of communalist Congressmen which was responsible for strengthening the League. No doubt the Muslims did blunder in Seceding from the Congress and all that followed was a logical consequence of the same. Congress Muslims had no voice in the working of this great organisation. They could not influence its decisions. Communalism was rampant at its highest.

The attempt of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for Muslim mass contact was very deliberately sabotaged under camouflage by the Congress officials. They considered it to their detriment. Ordinarily honest and faithful members of the minorities inside the Congress were always suppressed and preference was given to communalists belonging to the minorities though they were so far outside the Congress rank. It was a regular war against the minority members inside the Congress. It became impossible for them to enjoy confidence and become effective in their respective Communities.

The very fact of their being (Continued in Col. 6.)



They kept our Faith

Victory is ours, happiest is the day of 15th of August 1947. On this unparalleled event in the nation's colourful life we can not but remember them with respectful gratitude and profound reverence who led life fearlessly even to the gallows in the unswerving conviction of freedom's necessity



and willing loyalty to poverty, privation and sufferings to keep the faith in liberty alive to the day. Let glory be to them.

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